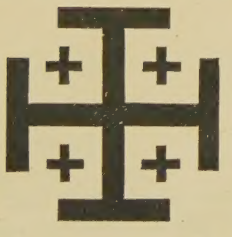
Palestine Exploration Quarterly

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

Patron—THE KING.

Quarterly Statement

FOR 1915.



ALMA COLLEGE
P
LIBRARY
PEF
Alma, California

LONDON:
PUBLISHED AT THE FUND'S OFFICE,
2, HINDE STREET, MANCHESTER SQUARE, W.

15656

1915-16

HARRISON AND SONS,
PRINTERS IN ORDINARY TO HIS MAJESTY,
ST. MARTIN'S LANE.

INDEX TO NAMES OF AUTHORS AND TITLES OF CONTRIBUTIONS.

PAGE

Baldensperger, Philip J. —
The Immovable East (*continued*) 10, 66, 165

Berchem, Dr. Max van—
Note on the Graffiti of the Cistern at Wady el-Jōz 85, 195

Cook, Stanley A., M.A.—
An Egyptian List of Palestinian Ambassadors 43
A New Painted Tomb in Palestine 93
Reviews and Notices of Publications 45, 95, 205

Crace, J. D., F.S.A.—
The Route of the Exodus 64
Reviews and Notices of Publications 95

Hogarth, D.G., M.A., F.S.A.—
The Wilderness of Zin 61

Knight, Nicholas—
Analysis of Specimen of Rock from Solomon's Quarries... ... 50

Macalister, Prof. R. A. S., M.A., F.S.A.—
A Day in a Fellah Village 29
Some Interesting Pottery Remains 35
A Cistern with Cufic Graffiti near Jerusalem 81
Occasional Papers on the Modern Inhabitants of Palestine ... 170

Masterman, Dr. E. W. G.—
Occasional Papers on the Modern Inhabitants of Palestine ... 170

Offord, Joseph—
The Disappearance of the Papyrus Plant in Egypt 38
The Elephantine Papyri as Illustrative of the Old Testament ... 72, 144
The Worship of the Patriarch Lot in Palestine 91
Archaeological Notes... 198

PAGE

Pilcher, E. J.—
A Moabite Seal 42
The Shekel of the Sanctuary 186

Raffaeli, Samuel—
Note on Maccabean Shekels 51

Segal, Rev. M. H., M.A.—
A New Hebrew Weight 40

Trumper, Lieut. Victor L., R.N.R.—
The Route of the Exodus from Pithom to Marah... ... ... 22, 152

Watson, Col. Sir C. M., K.C.M.G., C.B.—
Egypt and Palestine 132
Measures of Distance in Palestine 179

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

		PAGE
Plan of Route of the Exodus	*facing*	28
A Day in a Fellah Village—		
1. Lining up for Dance 1. 2. The Fifth Dance	„	34
Pottery Remains from Tell el-Fûl—		
Plate I	„	36
„ II	„	36
„ III	„	36
„ IV	„	36
Cufic Graffiti near Jerusalem—		
Plate I	„	84
„ II	„	84
„ III	„	84
„ IV	„	84
Scale of Comparative Measures of Distance in Palestine...		185

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

PAGE

Plan of Room of the Escalier ... ...Facing 28

A Dog in a Pellah Village—

I. Leaping up for Dates 2. Ye Little Dogge 34

Pottery Remains from Tell el-Yehudiyeh—

Plate I 58

" II 60

" III 62

" IV 68

Urns Graffiti near Jerusalem—

Plate I 82

" II 84

" III 86

" IV 88

Scale of Comparative Measures of Distance 1. Palestine 166

GENERAL INDEX.

Abda, 63.
Aegina Standard of Weights, The, 192.
'Ain Guderat, 62.
'Ain Kadeis, 62.
'Ain Shems, The Excavation of, 130.
Akaba, 62.
Annual, No. 3, 1914–15, 1, 53, 61, 105, 113.
„ Meeting, 53, 103.
Antoninus Martyr, 65.
Arabia, The Future of, 49.
Assyrian Conquest of Palestine and Egypt, 137.
Aswān or Swene, 74.
„ The Jews of, 148.
Ayun Mousa (Wells of Moses), 26.

Ba'albek, The German Excavations at, 47.
Baal-Zephon, Identification of, 27, 152.
Bassus, Inscription of the Procurator, 200.
Bedouin and Fellahīn—
Bedouin East of the Delta, 100.
Clothes and Fashions, 66, 165.
Dances, 32.
Marriages, 29.
Modern Inhabitants of Palestine, 156, 170.
Music and Musical Instruments, 18, 31.
Recreations, 13.
Schools, 10.
Women, 20.
Beit Jibrīn, Painted Tombs at, 93.
Bethshemesh, The Excavation of, 130.
Bitter Lakes, The, 24, 64, 134.
Bliss, Dr. F., 5, 129.
Books, etc., received and noticed, 7, 45, 58, 95, 110, 162, 205.

Cambyses' Invasion of Egypt, 138.
Clysma, The Identification of, 24, 65.
Conder, Col. C. R., R.E., 117, 122, 127.
Coutts, Baroness Burdett, and Jerusalem Water Supply, 124.
Cowley, Dr. A. E., 63.

Damascus, Terra-cotta figures from, 206.
Darb el-Shur, 62.
Deities, Ancient Jewish, in Egypt, 78, 144.
Delos, Greek Inscriptions at, 201.
Dêr Tell Adeh Convent, 47.
Dickie, Mr. A. C., 129.
Dor, Topography, History, etc., of, 205.
Drake, Mr. Tyrwhitt, 127.

Egypt and Palestine and the War, 132.
„ „ The Natural Boundaries of, 132.
„ „ The Roads between, 134.
„ „ Campaigns of the Pharaohs, 134.
Egyptian Empire in Asia, 100, 134.
Elephantine, The Papyri of, 72.
Esbeita, 63.
Etham (Atuma), 25.
Exodus, Route of the, 22, 64, 135, 152.

Fall of Man, Pre-Semitic Version of the, 96.
Flavius Johannes, Inscription of, 200.

Ganneau, Prof. Clermont, 128.
Gath, 129.
Gezer, The Excavations of, 129.
Gibeah of Saul, 36.
Goshen, The Land of, 133.
Greig, Lieutenant, 61, 120, 130.
Grove, Sir George, 114, 124.

Herodotus and the Sinai Desert, 138.
Hittites, Two Empires of the, 206.
Hull, Prof. E., 128.
Hyksos Period in Egypt, The, 135.

Inscriptions—
Greek—
Askalon, Memorial of a citizen of, 203.
Bassus, Inscription of the Procurator, 200.
Beit Jibrin, Grave Inscription, 198.
Brussels, Inscriptions in the Museum of, 199.
Delos, relating to the Jewish Community at, 201.
Flavius Johannes, Inscription of, 200.
"Holy Lot," Inscription referring to, 91.
Kefr el-Dawar, Inscription at, 105.
South Palestine, Inscriptions in, 63.
Syrian or Semitic Names, Inscription containing, 203.
Hebrew, inscribed weight, 40.
„ Nazarel, Moabite seal of, 42.
Hittite Hieroglyphs, a new decipherment, 99.
„ „ Date of the, 206.
Kufic and Arabic, 63.
Kufic Graffiti near Jerusalem, 81, 85, 195.
Nabatean, 63, 97.
Papyri, Aramaic, from Elephantine, 73, 144.
„ in the Museum of Petrograd, 43, 99.
Ishtar-Astarte, 206.

Jebel Ataka, 27.
„ Geneffe, 23.
„ Ghebrewet, 27.
„ Mariam, 27.
„ Muksheik, 27.
Jerusalem—
Anglican Bishopric in, 48.
Excavations of 1893, 129.
Kufic Graffiti near, 81, 85.
Ordnance Survey of, 124.
Solomon's Quarries, Analysis of the rock of, 50.
Water Supply, 124.

Kadesh Barnea, 62.
Kazr il-Benat Convent, 46.
Kefr el-Dawar, Greek Inscriptions at, 105.
Kfellūsîn, Chapel at, 47.
Khalasa, 63.
Kitchener, Earl, his work in Palestine, 117, 122, 128, 157.
Kurnub, 63.

Lachish, 129.
Lawrence, Mr. T. E., 61, 121, 130.
Library of the Fund—
Books presented to the, 2, 59, 110, 163.
„ wanted, 8, 105, 111.
Duplicates for sale, 107.
Local Secretaries, Two New, 160.
Lot, Worship of the Patriarch, 91.

Macalister, Mr. R. A. S., 129.
Mackenzie, Dr. Duncan, 130.
Map of Palestine, New Edn. of ⅝ in., 3.
Marah, 23, 26.
Maréshah, 129.
Margoliouth, Prof., 63.
Marissa, Grave Inscriptions at, 198.
Measures of Distance in Palestine, 179.
Measures and Weights, Hebrew, 186.
Menzaleh, Lake, 23.
Migdol, 27, 74.
Mohammedan Conquest of Palestine and Egypt, The, 140.
Morrison, Mr. Walter, 114.

Napoleon's Campaign in Palestine, 140.
Nazarel, Seal of, 42.
Nebi Musa and Nebi Sālih Pilgrim Shrines, 175.
Newcombe, Capt. S. F., 61, 120, 130.
Nile Delta, Changes of the, 133, 152.
Numismatics—
Aegina Standards, 192.
Athenian Coinage, 193.
Jewish Standards of Weight for Gold and Silver, 186.

Old Testament and The Elephantine Papyri, the, 72.

Painted Tomb near Beit Jibrīn, 93, 198.
Palestine and Egyptian Influence, 132.
„ The Future of, 141.
P.E.F. and the War, 104, 119, 155.
P.E.F., History of the, 124.
Palestinian Ambassadors, an Egyptian List of, 43.
Palmer, Prof. E. H., 117, 127.
Papyri, *see* "Inscriptions."
Papyrus Plant and Egypt, The, 38.
Pa Temu, 24.
Pathros (Patures), 77.
Pelusium, 133.
Persian Conquests of Palestine and Egypt, The, 138, 139.
Petrie, Prof. Flinders, 128.
Pi-hahiroth, 27.
Pithom, 23, 64.
Pottery from Tell el-Fūl, 35.
„ of N.E. Sinai, 62.
Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria, 45.

Red Sea, Former Limits of the, 64.
„ The Passage of the, 22.
Refâdeh, Inscription at, 46.

Sardes, Excavations at, 95.
Seal, Moabite, 42.
Shekel of the Sanctuary, the, 186.
Shekels, Maccabean, Notes on, 51.
Shur, The Wilderness of, 26.
Sinai, The Climate of, 62.
Smith, Dr. George Adam, 116.
Stanley, Dean A. P., 114, 124.
Stewart, Capt. R. W., R.E., 127.
Suez Canal of the Pharaohs, The, 133.
„ The Isthmus and Gulf of, 23, 133, 152.
Survey of East Palestine, 128.
„ of South Palestine, 61.
„ of West Palestine, 128.
„ of the Wady Arabah, 128.

Tell el-Ahmar, Antiquities Found at, 153.
Tell el-Fūl, Pottery from, 35.
Tell el-Hesy, The Excavation of, 128.
Tell el-Jezar, The Excavation of, 129.
Tell el-Judeideh, The Excavation of, 129.
Tell el-Maskuta, 24, 64.
Tell es-Safi, The Excavation of, 129.
Tell Sandahannah, The Excavation of, 129.
Tell el-Zakariya, The Excavation of, 129.
„ Notes on the People of, 29.
Thomson, The Most Rev. W., Archbishop of York, 114.
Timsah, Lake, 23, 66, 133, 152.
Todd, Mr. M. N., 63.
Transliteration of Hebrew and Arabic Consonants, Table of, 154.

Wady el-Jōz, Kufic Graffiti at, 81, 85, 195.
Wady Tumilat, 23, 134.
Warren, Sir Charles, G.C.M.G., 116, 126.
Weight, a New Hebrew, 40.
Weights, Jewish Standards for Gold and Silver, 186.
„ Aegina Standards, 192.
„ Notes on, 206.
Welys and Dervishes, Tales of, 170.
Wilson, Sir Charles, K.C.M.G., 116, 124.
Woolley, Mr. C. Leonard, 61, 120, 130.

Zerzitā, Architectural Remains at, 46.
Zin, The Wilderness of, 61.

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/palestine-exploration-quarterly_1915

THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

The New Survey: Double Annual for 1914–15.—The material resulting from the Survey of the Southern Country ("The Desert of the Wanderings") in the early part of 1914 proves to be more voluminous and more complete than could have been anticipated, seeing how short a time was available, owing to climate and other considerations. The whole Survey party must have worked with an energy and industry exceeding that of any previous expedition, notwithstanding the unusual difficulties which beset them from the nature of the country. The notes and descriptions of the various localities included are full and careful, and Messrs. Woolley and Lawrence are to be congratulated on having made them vivid and interesting, and on having secured so many and characteristic photographic illustrations as well as plans. The few inscriptions collected have been examined and carefully analysed by Mr. Marcus Tod, of Oxford. They are all personal memorials but afford some exact dates.

Altogether the amount of material largely exceeds what should suffice for a double volume of the *Annual*—*i.e.* for two years. But, on careful consideration, the Committee think that the reasons for publishing the whole together and without undue delay are so strong that they feel compelled to disregard the strictly economical question, so far as subscribers are concerned, and to publish the whole as a double *Annual* for the years 1914–15.

The reasons for this course are :—

1. That the region is one which so greatly interests all Bible students.
2. That it has never previously been surveyed or systematically examined.
3. That it may never again be so thoroughly examined and reported on.
4. That the disturbed condition of all Europe makes it improbable that any work of excavation can be undertaken in the coming year.

The price of the book to the public outside the Society will be 45*s*.

Since the above note was written both the authors of the Report forming the *Annual* have joined the military forces of the country, so that the completion and revision of the work has been very difficult for them and has been done in the midst of other more pressing duties and with further consequent delay. The Committee feel justified in hoping that the subscribers will appreciate this cause of delay. Also that this is not the moment to bring out the new and revised map, which might prove of too much value to an enemy.

Gift of Books.—Mr. Frederick Harrison, of Brighton, has presented to our Library a valuable gift of some 150 books, including many of the works of the older travellers in Palestine. Among these are Giovanni Zuallardo's *Viaggio in Giarusalemme*, 1586, which gives a detailed description of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, illustrated by engravings, and many of the holy places, as they then existed; very useful for reference. Charles Thompson's *Travels in the East*, 1744, with maps and views, in which the maps serve to show the extraordinary ignorance of the topography of Palestine even in the 18th century. It would be flattery to describe them merely as inaccurate. Dr. Richard Pocock's *Description of the East*, a well-known work in two large folio volumes (1743, 1744), includes visits to Syria and Palestine, with good drawings, well engraved, of such objects of interest as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Church at Bethlehem, of both of which careful plans are given;

Baalbek, with several full-page plates; a plan of the Great Mosque at Damascus, showing what he supposed to be the original arrangement of the Roman colonnades; also plans of the Pools of Solomon and the Sealed Fountain with details of the water conduits. These are all interesting records of the condition of these monuments 170 years ago. Other old books of travel are those of Richard Chandler, D.D., in Asia Minor (1775), 4to; Capt. Henry Light, R.A. (1814), 4to; Count de Forbin (1817–18); and that strange missionary, Rev. Joseph Wolff's *Travels* (1827–30, and 1835–38), who, however, paid little heed to monuments or topography. His *Letters* were already in the Library.

The presentation also included many useful and more modern works, forming altogether an important addition to our Library.

The Committee, in recognition of this, has elected Mr. Harrison a "life member." He has consented to become Honorary Secretary for the Brighton district.

The Committee are bringing out a new edition of the ($\frac{3}{8}$ in. to the mile) Map of Western Palestine, of which the original edition has been for some time out of print. It is in six sheets, and will be, primarily, a travellers' map. The roads and railways constructed since the original survey have been added. For the sake of clearness, only the modern names are given. The hill shading is in a lighter tint for the same reason. All the country beyond that actually surveyed is shown in outline only. In a few years it may be possible to add much of this in a further edition. In the meantime, this is the clearest map and the easiest to consult of any yet issued by the Society. The price of the complete six sheets will be 7*s.* 6*d.* If desired, the map can be mounted on linen and a roller, or to fold. It will be ready for issue during this year.

The London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews are to publish Archdeacon Dowling's illustrated book entitled *The City of Safed: A Refuge of Judaism.* The book has an introduction by the Bishop in Jerusalem and will be 1*s.* net. We regret to hear that the Archdeacon has felt obliged, owing to ill-health, to leave Palestine. Dr. Donald A. Coles, English Hospital, Haifa, has kindly consented to act in his stead as Honorary Secretary for Haifa. The

Archdeacon proposes to enlarge and publish in more permanent form his articles on "The Episcopal Succession in Jerusalem," which appeared in the *Q.S.* of October, 1913, and January, 1914. He is anxious to make his Notitia more correct and complete, and for this will be glad to receive any suggestions. His postal address is 47, Anerley Park, London, S.E.

The Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains many duplicate volumes, including standard works by Robinson, Ritter, Stanley and others. They may be had separately, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The Index to the *Quarterly Statements* previously published included the years from 1869 to 1892, and the need for its continuation to a more recent date has been greatly felt. Some of the most important of the discoveries and work of the Palestine Exploration Fund belong to later years. Such are the excavations of sites on and around Ophel, by Messrs. Bliss and Dickie, in the Shephelah, by Messrs. Bliss and Macalister, and the great work at Gezer, by Prof. Stewart Macalister, besides many valuable papers and discussions on the sites in Jerusalem and elsewhere. During the year 1911, the Committee decided to supplement the old Index by one which should include the completion of the work at Gezer, that is to say, from 1893 to 1910. The laborious task was undertaken by Mr. (now Prof.) Dickie, whose familiarity with the matter dealt with, and conscientious exactitude, have now enabled the Committee to publish it with confidence. Price in cloth, 5*s.*; unbound, 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Secretaries.

Plaster casts of the raised contour maps (large and small) of Jerusalem have been prepared and can now be had on application. The horizontal scale of the large map is $\frac{1}{2500}$ and the total dimensions

are 5 feet by 4 feet 3 inches. The remains of the city walls and streets discovered on the Eastern and Western Hills are indicated in red lines. This map will be a most valuable help to the study of Jerusalem topography. Price £3 3*s*. Case and packing extra. The scale of the smaller map is $\frac{1}{10000}$ and the size 20 inches square. Price without addition of early walls and streets £1 5*s*.

A new and improved edition of the large photo relief map of Palestine (5 miles = 1 inch) is now ready. Price 6*s*. 9*d*. unmounted. Mounted on cloth, roller, and varnished, 10*s*. 6*d*. Size, mounted, 30 inches by 52 inches.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

Subscribers who have not yet paid will greatly facilitate the Committee's efforts by sending in their subscriptions early in the year, and thus save the expense of sending out reminders.

Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Assistant Secretary, they are now published annually. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1913 is given in the Annual Report published with the April number.

Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, the last work of the late Major-General Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., etc. In this work the late Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund has brought together for the first time all the evidence which the most exhaustive research enabled him to collect bearing on the subject of these Holy

Sites; and probably no man living had at once so intimate a knowledge of all investigations in the modern Jerusalem and so complete an acquaintance with what has been written about the Sites from the time of Constantine onwards. The price of the work (demy 8vo) is 6*s.*, by post 6*s.* 4*d.*

A reprint of *Names and Places in the Old and New Testaments*, by the late Mr. George Armstrong, is now on sale, price 6*s.* The book was out of print for some years.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869-1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869-1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10*s.* A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

Photographs of the late Dr. Schick's models (1) of the Temple of Solomon, (2) of the Herodian Temple, (3) of the Haram Area and Justinian's Church, and (4) of the Haram Area as it is at present, have been received at the office of the Fund. The four photographs, with an explanation by Dr. Schick, can be purchased by applying to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W., is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

The Museum and Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund at Jerusalem are in the Bishop's Buildings, near the Tombs of the Kings, where the use of a room has been kindly permitted by the Bishop in

Jerusalem and the East. The Museum is open daily, except Sundays, and the Honorary General Secretary for Palestine, Dr. E. W. G. Masterman, will give all information necessary.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Prof. Lewis B. Paton, Ph.D., Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 50, Forest Street, Hartford, Conn.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks, among other journals and books, the following :—

Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, Vol. XXXVI, Part 6: An Account of the Pre-Semitic Version of the Fall of Man, by S. Langdon ; etc., etc.

Annual of the British School at Athens, 1912–13.

Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review of Letters, Philosophy and Science, September, 1914.

The Irish Theological Quarterly, October, 1914.

The East and the West, October, 1914; The Anglican Bishopric in Jerusalem : its History and Possibilities, by E. W. G. Masterman, M.D., F.R.C.S.

The London Quarterly Review, October, 1914.

American Journal of Archaeology, July–September, 1914.

American Journal of Philology, Vol. XXXV, 3. No. 139.

Art and Archaeology, September, 1914: A Recently Discovered Painted Tomb of Palestine, by Warren J. Moulton.

The Biblical World, September–December, 1914.

The Homiletic Review, September–December, 1914. October issue: The Future of Turkish Arabia, by S. M. Zwemer, D.D.

The Jewish Quarterly Review, October, 1914.

Plants of the Bible, prepared by the American Colony, Second edition, revised. A simple brief account "not entering into discussion of disputed points, but setting forth the most probable identifications in the light of many years' residence in Jerusalem."

Journal Asiatique, 1914 : Monuments and History of Egypt, between the end of the XIIth dynasty and the Theban restoration, by M. R. Weill.

Al-Mashrīq : Revue Catholique Orientale Mensuelle, September, 1914 : The Bedouiñ Judge among the Trans-Jordanic Tribes, by the Abbé Paul Salman ; etc., etc.

Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, Band XXXVII, Heft 3 : The Climate of Palestine from Old Hebrew Sources, by Dr. Klein ; Pottery by the village-women of Rāmallāh and district, by Lydia Einsler (née Schick).

Die Landesnatur Palästinas, Part II, by Dr. Valentin Schwöbel.

See also below, pp. 45 *sqq.*

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands.

The Committee desire specially to acknowledge with thanks the following valuable contributions to the Library :—

From Mr. Frederick Harrison, Brighton :—

150 volumes, including many of the works of the older travellers in Palestine. See above, p. 2.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Library any of the following books :—

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864) ; published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten.* (Leipzig, 1837.)

L. de Laborde, *Voyage de l'Arabic Petrée* (1829).

Prof. E. Huntingdon, *Palestine and its Transformation.* (Constable and Co.)

Père Abel, *Une Croisière autour de la Mer Morte* (1909).

For list of authorized lecturers and their subjects, see end of the Journal, or write to the Secretary.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

Form of Bequest to the Palestine Exploration Fund.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

Note.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

THE IMMOVABLE EAST.

By Philip J. Baldensperger.

(*Continued from Q.S.*, 1913, p. 132.)

School.

Children are brought up by the mother chiefly, as the father is mostly out of doors. When he comes home in the evening, he may perhaps administer a good flogging to a child, if requested, or he may not trouble. In the morning he is often away from home before the others are awake, but generally the children hand him the slippers or the jug for ablutions. Boys are supposed to be sent to school, the *kuttāb* of the Moslems, and the *skola*—from the Italian *scuola*—of the Christians. As the mothers cannot accompany them, they often run about the streets during lesson time and come home when other boys do. They visit school in a perfunctory way. When old enough, or when they have completed the *Kur'ān*, they undergo an examination. The boy who passes, returns home, carrying a *Kur'ān* on a stand which is covered with a thin rose-coloured gauze. He is accompanied to his house by the teacher and by all his comrades. On the way they stop at the door of notabilities and sing praises; the householder, thus honoured, bestows sweets or cakes or small coins on the boys, and the procession moves on. In this manner the boy is solemnly brought back to his family.

The schoolmaster is termed a *Sheikh*, he teaches the boys to read the *Kur'ān*, in a sing-song tone, whilst swaying the upper part of the body to and fro. The boys, when reading, are not easily disturbed by one another. Forty or fifty boys may be seen reading aloud different verses undisturbed by their neighbours. They learn to read, to write and to calculate, but nothing further, except in the higher schools and in the modern institutions. Several of these have been established in Jerusalem and elsewhere under the auspices of the government. The Christian schools are instituted by European missions, and follow the schedules of European schools,

according to their respective nations. The Moslem schools are big rooms with the least possible furniture, a low chair and small desk for the teacher, and mats for the boys to squat on. The pupils sit irregularly, sometimes in circles round the teacher, who chants the lesson together with them. The teacher may be called either *Sheikh* or *mu'allim* (instructor). A pupil is termed *tilmīdh*, or, after finishing his studies, *Kūrī*, that is, reader of the *Kur'ān*. Their school books are limited to alphabet and spelling sheets, and to the *Kur'ān*, no extracts of which are permitted. As writing materials, they have inkstands, very often small earthenware pots, and silk-threads as base of the ink. On these water is poured to reproduce the ink when dry. When the boys grow up and advance in knowledge, they receive the *dawāt* or combined inkstand and pencil-box, made of copper and soldered together; this is generally carried in the girdle. The pen, or *kalam*, is made of a thin reed. To sharpen these reeds is quite an art, in which generally the teacher alone, or perhaps some of the more dexterous boys, is an expert. The teacher has a small penknife, called مطوى, *miṭwa(n)*, for sharpening the reed, the point of which is split on the thumbnail; an oblique cut at the top finishes the operation. Neither paper nor copy-books are generally employed for writing, but wooden boards or tin plates, called *loh*. After use the writing is wiped away, and the board is ready for the next lesson. If boards or tins cannot easily be obtained the shoulder-bones of sheep or camels are employed, they are also called *loh*, the generic name of the scapula. As punishment for naughty boys is the stocks, *falak*. Both feet are put into the stocks and the culprit, lying on his back, with feet upraised receives a given number of stripes. The parents send a small sum monthly to the teacher, varying from a few pence to a shilling or so; in some places he also receives bread or some other comestible from every boy in turn. The government has founded schools and made attendance compulsory in most villages, but they have not been largely successful up to now. It may be safe to say that only about two per cent. really learn enough reading and writing to be of any use in after life.

The Hebrews seem to have followed the same negligent method of schooling. The mass of the people probably never could read. It may be that 2 Kings ii, 3 and 5, refer to special schools at Bethel and at Jericho, where the prophets and Levites were educated.

The "company of prophets" at Ramah (1 Sam. xix, 19), was a kind of Darwish assembly. David, who himself had been connected with them previously, appointed certain Levites to be "mentioners," "thankers," and "praisers" of God (1 Chron. xvi, 4). The teacher was called *mēbhīn*, and the scholar, *talmīdh* (1 Chron. xxv, 8). According to Deut. xxxi, 10–13, the Levites were to read the Law every seven years before the men, women, and children, that they might learn to fear the Lord. Thus it is clear that a very small percentage of the people could read. In the days of the Patriarchs no one, probably, could read. Possibly Samuel was the great reformer, or founder of schools, as he is the first teacher mentioned (1 Sam. xix, 24), if this is the real meaning of the passage. The Israelites in the wilderness had public writers who wrote the letters of divorce. Joshua sent three men from each of the seven tribes which had not divided their inheritance, and they "wrote down the land by cities, in seven portions, in a book" (Joshua xviii, 9), and he divided the land according to this plan. Habakkuk, the prophet was an expert draftsman; he drew the vision and gave a written description on boards, if this is the correct interpretation of Hab. ii, 2. The book, *sēfer*, was very likely made of papyrus, grown in Egypt, and imported to Palestine. When Egypt suffered from want of water the paper-reeds dried (Isaiah xix, 7); but no doubt the Israelites usually wrote on boards, *'al-luah* (Isaiah xxx, 8), from which the ink could afterwards be wiped, or on rolls of skin, *megillōth* (Jer. xxxvi, 2 and 23). They seem to have had ink and inkstands similar to those of the modern Arabs. Ink, *d'yō*, is mentioned in Jer. xxxvi, 18. The receptacle, or pot, could be carried in the girdle (Ezek. ix, 2) and was called *keseth sōfēr*. The reed-pen, *shēbhet sōfēr*, was made in the tribe of Zebulun (Judges v, 14), perhaps by the lakes of Tiberias and Merom, which were in their immediate neighbourhood. The reed-pens had to be sharpened by the penknife, *ta'ar ha-sōfēr* (Jer. xxxvi, 23). The children had evidently to write their lessons on boards, as is recommended by Solomon to his son: "Forget not my Law" (Prov. iii, 1), "write them (the commandments) on the board (*lū'h*) of thine heart" (Prov. iii, 3). The stocks, *sadh*, were also employed as a punishment for children very much in the same way as among the modern Arabs. Job remembers the blows he had received as a boy: "Thou puttest my feet in stocks, and settest a print (beating) on the soles of my feet" (Job xiii, 27). The beating was done with the *shēbhet*

(Prov. xiii, 24). Correction given to the children is very often mentioned as *mūsār*; frequently, perhaps, this correction consisted of imprisonment in the stocks (Prov. xxiii, 13; Jer. ii, 30; etc.).

Recreation, etc.

As long as the children are in an innocent age, boys and girls play and run about together, either indoors or in the street; the girls are, however, very soon withdrawn. At the age of ten or at marriage, which may occur even before, they are obliged to put on the veil, though, as a rule, they do not wed before puberty.

The girls generally play quietly, sitting down in some corner of the house. They toss up stones or kernels, or the small ankle-bone of a lamb, *shak*. Stones or kernels are gathered and the girls squat in a circle, ten or twelve stones are thrown down and the first player picks one up: this is tossed into the air, and another taken up before the one in the air is caught. A second time a stone is thrown and two are taken up; then three, and so forth, as long as the desired numbers have not been picked. The turn passes to the next; when the turns are over, two stones are tossed into the air and two gathered and so forth. Then the stone is tossed up and received on the back of the hand, and so on. The ankle-bone has four sides, called sultan, vizier, baker and thief; one is tossed up and the player must guess on which side it falls, and continues to play till she misses the guess.

Games in general are called *la'ab*. Boys have different out-of-doors games, in which girls cannot therefore easily join: *e.g.*, flying the kite, *tayyāra*. Kites must be flown either from the housetop or from an elevation, if possible outside the town.

Marbles, *kulla*, are played in isolated back streets, so is the *dōsh*, or quoit. Several boys have flat stones with which each in turn has to knock away a small stone from a central mark. The "batsman" counts how many feet he has hit the small stone, and the boy who has reached a fixed number before the others is the winner.

Kōra is played by several boys armed with long sticks, who take away a round stone or ball from a central hole: one of the players tries to prevent the rest from bringing it back. He hits it with the stick as far as he can. Nobody may touch the ball, except with his stick; when the united boys have finally brought the ball home, another "goalkeeper" is chosen.

Ball playing, *ṭāba*, is something like cricket, excepting that the hand is used instead of a bat; it may be played against a wall as well.

Target-play, *'alām*. A number of big stones are put up in a field with a small one on top, the boys now gather smooth stones and try in turn to hit the mark. This exercise is good practice for shooting.

The *ṣīnīya* of the *madanī* and *zrūfa* of the fellahīn is a game for grown-up people. Ten inverted cups, *zrūfa* (pl. of *zarf*), are placed on a tray (*ṣīnīya*, lit. Chinese porcelain) and two parties of equal numbers form sides. A ring is hidden by one side, and the other has to guess where it is. The appointed person touches every cup which he supposes to be empty, saying *bōsha*, but tinkles the cup under which he supposes the ring to be concealed. If he has guessed correctly, he takes the tray, but the game continues till a hundred wins are secured by one party, which gains the tray. The losers have to bring edibles—sweets, figs, etc.—or a sum of money previously specified as forfeits, otherwise they have to submit "to be abused." This "abusing," *maskha*, is sometimes very vulgar, *e.g.*, blackening the face, binding a shoe on the head, or degrading the men to perform menial female work, or even immorality, etc.

Draughts, termed *dāma* in towns, and *rub'a* in villages. Forty-nine squares are marked on the ground, and these are occupied by forty-two stones, twenty-one from each side, leaving seven empty squares. The fellahīn lie down on the ground, their heads only overlooking the "board."

Nine Men's Morris (Germ. Mühle), *sīja*, is also played on the ground by fellahīn. It is a game for two men, each having nine stones (counters), or "dogs." Three squares are marked out, one within the other. The corner and centre of every line is marked as a station. The game begins, everyone in turn putting down a dog on a station. When a player has filled a line of three stations (a position which is called *darīs*), and has gained a *derse*, he may remove one of his adversary's dogs. The captured piece is put into the central field, the *maidān*. The game proceeds till no more dogs are left.

Khuweitima, as its name implies, is another game with a ring, played by the fellahīn. The players divide into two groups, one of which has to guess in whose hand a ring is to be found. The others squat with their hands behind them. One player turns and drops the ring into the hand of another. Thereupon the other side send a

representative who, by inspection, tries to guess the holder of the ring. If he guesses wrongly, the empty hand is ordered "to be drunk." A specified number of correct answers entitles the winner to sweets, which are eaten by all the players.

The fellahin are very fond of *bsīsa*, a kind of gruel with honey and flour, or dried figs and oil.

Bakara is a very complicated game, reserved for winter evenings. Twelve small pits, *dār*, are made in a circle. Belonging to three players, in the middle of a circle, are three pits, *dsāt*. Every player has six pairs of counters, eleven of which he throws, from left to right, into each *dār*, except the first, or *bakara*. At the second turn, when he arrives at his *bakara* he puts in a stone thus gaining a *bakara*, which he puts in the *dist*. He now leaves this *bakara* and continues from the next house (*dār*). The second player then plays backwards but must pass over the *bakara* till his second turn. He then drops in his stone, and takes one out. This continues until all the stones have found their right places.

Fizlo, فزلو, "Go for him." The boys all sit in a circle facing one another. One player goes round, outside the circle, with a twisted handkerchief saying "Go for him, go for him." He drops the handkerchief behind a boy, who has to rise, take it, and then run after the boy who dropped it. The latter tries to take the place of the runner; if he can sit down before being touched the new boy must be "he" in his turn, until he can catch someone else.

Except marbles, no toys are sold, the children mostly making for themselves such toys as kites, tops, fiddles, bows and arrows, and the like. Dolls and animal figures are almost unknown, in fact there is no name for a doll, sometimes designated *'arūsa*, a bride, or the Arabised French word *būbīya*, from "poupée."

They sometimes make mud figures of birds, or cats, or other animals. There is a tradition among the Greek Christians that when Jesus was a boy He amused himself by making birds of clay, and when they were finished, He, wishing the birds to fly, clapped His hands. The birds flew away, and this was His first miracle (see Longfellow's *Golden Legend*, "The Nativity," VII).

Families sometimes go out for walks, or picnics, *nezha*, or *shutha*. The food for the day is carried out, a big kettle with *mahshī* (rolled vine leaves with meat and rice), and a bag of coals. A long rope with which to hang a swing from an olive tree is as necessary for the picnic as the food. As soon as the cord is fixed the girls, women,

and boys swing all day long. The women sing the four-line songs and end with the ululation, or *zaghrūt*. In Moslem picnics coffee is served after dinner. The Christian picnics have wine and arak, and the people are often somewhat drunk on the way home. When Job's well ('En Rogēl), near Jerusalem, overflows in spring, after several rainy days, many people go down with their families and picnic on the banks of the stream; flowing water is a sight in the mountains of Judah, especially in the waterless environs of Jerusalem. For many days or weeks, in fact as long as the water continues to flow, coffee or sweetstuff stalls are established there. The surrounding olive trees receive their swings and the whole valley, *Wady er-Rabābeh*, or Fiddle Valley, resounds with songs and echoes of the merry multitude. Perhaps the name of Fiddle Valley originates from these spring feasts. Simple walks, *sham el-howā*, *i.e.*, "to smell the wind," are taken on afternoons along the roads out of town. On the main road one can often see women sit down and gaze at the passers by, whilst they eat cracknels, *nakal*; the cemetery is also a favourite spot.

We do not know anything about the games of the Hebrew children, but the streets of Jerusalem were the general playground in that town before the Captivity; for the prophet Zechariah speaks of "the return of boys and girls to play in the streets of Jerusalem." (Zech. viii, 5) after the dispersion and desolation of the land. Play is generally called *Sᶜhok*, *cf.* the Arabic *ḍaḥaka*, "to laugh," which is also employed for jesting and, in some instances, for dancing. The prophet Isaiah, who has so many minute descriptions of contemporary manners and customs, may perhaps, in chap. xxii, 18, be referring to the previously described game of *kōra*—"He will surely violently toss thee like a ball into a wide space."

Early marriages are the rule. At the age of puberty, from 12 to 14 years of age, a bride is chosen for the son from the next-of-kin, if possible, or else from some acquaintances. This serious step in life is not of great consequence among Muslims, as it is rather a question of money with them; the knot can easily be loosed without much trouble. The youngster who, up to this event, has worn a plain tarbūsh, is now received into the community of believers, by winding round it the turban, called *laffe*, from *laffa*, to wind round, or *'emām*, "being received into the nation," for the turban is "the outward and visible sign" of reception into the body of believers. As a consequence, it is very much respected and considered as holy; it may not be interfered with in a frivolous or

negligent way. The betrothal of the young couple is feasted with more or less splendour. A supper is given to the nearest relatives, and here the conditions of the marriage are put down. The money, which the father of the bridegroom has to pay, is to be spent in jewellery for the bride; a description of these ornaments has been given in the chapter on the Goldsmith. The wedding ceremonies begin seven days beforehand. Not only relatives and acquaintances, but all the people of the neighbourhood come in and out, especially if the parents be wealthy. (For a full description see *Quarterly Statement*, April, 1899, pp. 140–144.) Damascus and Egyptian singers are brought to give a more aristocratic tone as they are very expensive.[1] They certainly have good voices. They render with different instruments playing, in a certain measure, the wailing love-songs. These are sometimes gay, now languishing, now sad and drawn out, now voluptuous. The female dancers and musicians, *'almā* and *'ēlmā*, are accompanied by the musicians, *'alātī*. They produce all kinds of distortions of the body in their dances. The index fingers and thumbs fitted with the castanets, *fukīshāt*, while the time is beaten on the *nukeira*, a tambourine ornamented with metal discs, which tinkle as the knocking is repeated. The instruments used are:—The *ṭabīl*, or drum, the body being made of earthenware over which the skin of the broad tail of a sheep is stretched. The *darabuka*, an elevated drum, with the lower part tapering into a small opening. The *daf* is a simple tambourine without copper ornaments; it is played or knocked with the knuckles of one hand, whilst the other lifts it to the height of the face; it is used in processions in the street. The *kūs* are cymbals of brass, which are knocked against each other. The *kamanja* is a two-stringed fiddle (the one-stringed fiddle, *rabābeh*, is a fellaḥ instrument). The *ranūn* is the horizontal harp.

In the towns they have no wind instruments, if we except the *shabbaba*, a fife, which is only played in the streets, and rarely in the house at feasts. The fellahin, on the contrary, have several wind instruments.

The instruments of the Hebrews very much resembled, no doubt, those of the Arabs, but music was probably a little more elaborate in the days of David. This king, himself a musician, encouraged music and trained musical bands in Jerusalem. Music

[1] The song is a *ghinā*, a chant, or *dōra*, couplets. *Tartīl* is a church song, and *mowāl*, a romance.

was neglected under his successors, though a little revived by Hezekiah and Josiah. The troubled times which followed were not suited to the development of the art, and music fell into decay once more. After the Captivity Ezra instituted 200 singing men and women, who probably may be regarded as the type, if not as the founders, of the modern Egyptian *'almi* (Ezra ii. 65). At all events they were not held in such high repute as in the days of David. Ezra puts them after the servants, whilst in the Psalmist's days they were Levites and so esteemed (1 Chron. xvi, 4, 5). David himself not only wrote psalms, but is said to have improved the musical instruments, at least the stringed instruments of which he was particularly fond. In Hezekiah's days David's instruments were yet known (2 Chron. xxix, 26, 27): they disappeared again later. The *stringed instruments* which now exist and which may possibly be compared with those of the Hebrews are :—

The *kanūn*	= *Kinnōr*, the harp (Gen. xxxi, 27; 1 Sam. xvi, 23); *gittīth* (Ps. viii, lxxxi and lxxxiv), may have been another form of the *kinnōr*.
Kamanjat, the violin; *Rabāba*, a one-stringed violin	= *Neginōth* (Isaiah iv, 1, and Isaiah vi, 1), more or less modified forms of "stringed instruments."
The *instruments of percussion* :—	
Tabla, a drum	= *Me'na'anīm* (2 Sam. vi, 5).
Darabuka, a high drum with tapering base.	
Daf, a hand-drum (tambourine)	= *Tōf*, the timbrel of Miriam (Exod. xv, 20), of Jephtah's daughter (Judges xi, 34), and of the women before Saul and David (1 Sam. xviii, 6): an instrument always used by women, then as now.
Rāsa or *Kūs*, cymbals	= *Zil'elē-th'erū'ā*, or noisy cymbals (Ps. cl, 5).

Fekeishāt, castanets	= *Zilzᵉlē-shĕma'*, the cymbals of hearing (only just heard).
Nōba, a big drum on pottery, used by Dervishes.	
Bāz, a small pottery drum, used by Dervishes.	

The *wind instruments* are :—

Nāyi, a double-reed instrument with two mouthpieces, played by opening the double holes with the fingers of both hands	= *Nēbhel* (Ps. xcii, 3), *'ᵃlē 'āsōr wa'ᵃlē Nēbhel.* "Upon an instrument of ten strings, upon the psaltery" (this might be "upon the ten-holed instrument").
Yarghūl, a double-reed instrument as the above *nāyī*, but having a supplementary reed on one of the reeds, thus becoming triple. This is played in the centre of some dancers, who have to keep time with the instrument	= *'Ughābh* (Gen. iv, 21), invented by Jubal. It is also mentioned among the instruments of the psalmists (Ps. cl, 4). It has been rendered "organ."
Shaibabat, a wooden pipe, also called *zuffāra*	= *Shōfār*, called trumpets or horns, used by the priests before Jericho (Joshua vi, 4, *keren* verse 5), and blown on different occasions—Gideon and his men (Judges vii, 8), on accessions of kings, as Jehu, (2 Kings ix, 13).
Būk is a trumpet, also called *kurn*, but is not in use among civilians; it is a military instrument	= *Keren* (Joshua vi, 5) may be a different kind of *shōfār*, probably first made from a horn, perhaps only a modified form of the *hᵃzōzᵉrōth*, the trumpet invented by Moses (Num. x, 2) and used by the musicians of David (1 Chron. xiii, 8, and 2 Chron. xxix, 27).

The *nāyī* is also called *zammāra* = *Hālīl* (1 Sam. x, 5) was very more especially the act of playing on this flute is called *tazmīr*, "to play on the flute." The Psalmist says (xxxiii, 2): *Bᵉnēbhel ʿāsōr zammᵉrū lō*, trans. "sing unto him with the psaltery and a ten-stringed instrument." The same phrase is used in Psalms xcviii, 5. An Arab will say "play to him on the flute," زمرو له على الناى, *Zamru-lou ʿalla-n-nāyī*

popular: used by the prophets of Gibea, by the people to be merry (Isaiah v, 12) in drinking, and again in solemn, or rather in troubled, times (Jer. xlviii, 36); and also for joy, at the accession of King Solomon (1 Kings 1, 40). Most probably this is only another name for the *nēbhel*, mentioned above, and was played at the rounds, or mutual answering dances—as of Miriam and the women—called *mᵉhōlōth* (Ex. xv, 20) *cf.* Psalms liii.

Women.

The Arab and Hebrew family life and household implements are, as has been seen, very much alike; the townspeople differed then as much from the countrypeople as they do now. The rich people and princes had many wives, *e.g.*, David and Solomon, and the women lived very much the same harem life as now. The wealthy classes had one or two wives, *e.g.*, Elkanah, the father of Samuel. Such wives regarded each other as adversaries; they had one preoccupation, to have each one more children than the other, and thus to gain the favour of the husband; they enjoyed the name of *ṣārā* (adversary); *cf.* the Arabic *ḍurra* for the rival wife (1 Sam. i, 6).

Children are vowed to a saint—either to join the order or to wear the distinctive clothing. The *nadhr*, or vow, is relatively easy. The child has no special observances, but to attend the assemblies, when the Dervishes assemble and sing praises, and he may join in the cries. The Christians vow the children to St. Francis, or St. Nicholas; in this case the child wears the monk's garb of the patron saint till the number of years has expired. Hannah vowed her son Samuel for life. Maronites vow them generally to St. Maron, the patron saint of the Lebanon. The majority of the people have only one wife, just as the Hebrews. The woman is respected in the first

place as a *walīyya*, that is "primitive being," created in the beginning, therefore holy; then as the weaker sex; and last, but not least, as "the mother of the children." Their one aim in life is to have children. The Hebrews do not differ at all in this point. But the woman is esteemed, honoured, and left to her own ways "in the house" only, and is never talked about in society in the familiar Occidental way, though she may be included indirectly in the question about the *'Eyāl*, "children or family."

When the tribes of Israel had almost exterminated the tribe of Benjamin (Judges xx), and had sworn not to give them daughters of Israel to wife, they brought women from Jabesh-Gilead (Judges xxi, 12) and gave them to the Benjamites, but as the four hundred young women were not enough, they made a feast in Shiloh and invited the daughters of the town to come and dance in the field, where the Benjamites could carry them away (Judges xxi, 23). These feasts, or suppers, were very much like Mohammedan feasts. The guests seem mostly to have been men, for it is said "they returned to their families" (verse 24) after this, and "every man did that which was right in his own eyes." There are exceptional women, known in the town as well as in the country, not only in commerce but also as dignitaries, or rulers, of a part of the people. Deborah was a judge and a prophetess. *Bint-Barī* of the Moslems is the same and very much venerated. Several conspicuous women are venerated by all the three religions, as Rachael, the mother of Joseph, or only by Christians and Moslems, as Mary, the mother of Jesus. (For further details see *Quarterly Statement*, January, April, and July, 1901, "Leading Women.")

The houses are, in most cases, built against each other without intervening gardens so that the next courtyard can easily be overlooked by neighbours, yet the offence is so great that it is not done. It is considered such an outrage that it is rare for anybody to try, and the women feel quite at home and guaranteed against onlookers in their own courts. The upper rooms are generally left open and swallows very often nestle inside, whilst the turtle-doves coo for hours on the deserted roofs, and sometimes have a nest in a corner. Sparrows live and nestle in the hollow tiles, their cooing, *kol*, was sweet to the ears of Solomon (Cant. ii, 14), and was the same then as now.

The flowers are altogether under the care of the women; they have generally geraniums, pinks, jasmine, basilicum (called *rīḥānā* in

Palestine; in Syria the myrtle is called *rīḥāne*), peppermint (*na'na'*), and similar odoriferous plants. Flowers without any odour are not appreciated. The author of Canticles points to flowers of an odoriferous character, and calls them "*thy plants*," speaking of his spouse (Cant. iv, 14). After enumerating the *nard*, the *karkōm*, the *kāneh*, and *kinnāmōn*, he says "trees of *lebhōnāh*," or odours (v. 14).

A flower on a shrub or small plant is *ḥanūn*, blossoms of trees are *zaher*; but when they ornament themselves with a flower in the hair generally, it is called a *shukla*, "nosegay." The flower-pots are very often built into the low inner wall of the terrace, looking into the home courtyard, or are placed along the outer wall, on an elevation above the terrace.

The terraces and courts are open; it might be expected that they would be very dirty. But in quiet towns, where industries are far away from habitations, no soot or dust falls, and the houses are tolerably clean. People who have been busy outside leave their shoes and slippers at the entrance, thus mud is not easily carried in; women are more in than out of doors. A broom, *miknasa*, or *mikashsha*, is also kept for the cleanliness of the terrace and court, but is only used occasionally. The Hebrew broom was called *mat'ate'* (Isaiah xiv, 23). The privy, very poetically called "place of repose," *mestarāḥ*, is away in a corner of the terrace, as in the case of Ehud (Judges iii, 24), or near the entrance gate, below the stairs.

(*To be continued.*)

THE ROUTE OF THE EXODUS: FROM PITHOM TO MARAH.

By Lieut. Victor L. Trumper, R.N.R.

In 1864 Dean Stanley, writing on the above subject in his book *Sinai and Palestine*, says: "the localities, both on the march and before the passage (of the Red Sea), are described with a precision which indicates that at the time when the narrative was written

they were known with the utmost exactness. Unhappily, it is an exactness which to us now is only tantalising. It is for the most part only by conjecture that any places mentioned can be in any way identified." However, much has happened since then, and the labours of M. Naville in placing beyond all reasonable doubt the position of Pithom, and the work of the Sinai Survey in giving us the site of Marah, has placed us in a position to identify with tolerable exactness the route of the Exodus. In studying the subject I have been guided principally by the suggestions in Sir J. W. Dawson's *Egypt and Syria*, the various writings of Dr. Wallis Budge, and the Rev. John Urquhart's *New Biblical Guide*, Vol. III, and the points on which I differ from those authorities have been the result of a personal investigation of the locality.

Before we go any further it is best to consider the geographical features of the Isthmus of Suez as they were at the time, not as they are now, for the assumption that they are the same now as in olden times has been responsible for all the confusion that has arisen. First we will take the geological evidence, which is to the effect that the Isthmus has tilted on an axis which lies just north of Lake Timsah, the northern part of the Isthmus having been depressed and the southern part raised. We know that up to the year about A.D. 500 the district north of Lake Timsah was a flourishing and fertile country, but after that time the sea began to encroach and by about A.D. 1200 the whole district was submerged, and the place converted into the swampy salt-water lagoon now known as Lake Menzaleh. The centre of the Isthmus just north of Lake Timsah, known as el-Guisr, is about 50 or 60 feet above sea-level, and has been land according to Sir J. W. Dawson since the Pleistocene period. Now with regard to the southern part the geological evidence is very conclusive that at no very distant date the Red Sea extended up to the Bitter Lakes, and in all probability up to Lake Timsah into which an arm of the Nile emptied itself after flowing through the Wady Tumilat, or in other words the land of Goshen. Between the Bitter Lakes and Suez the ground is perfectly level except for a few flat-topped hillocks which show traces round their edges of having been sea beaches. Strewn all over the plain are modern Red Sea shells which cannot have been many centuries out of water; also all along the foothills of Jebel Geneffe are undoubted traces of old sea beaches, and in parts a sort of clayey conglomerate interspersed throughout its entire depth

with rounded water-worn stones, so much worn that I am of the opinion that they cannot have been so worn by torrents coming down the hillside but must have been worn by the action of waves on a beach. The desert between Jebel Geneffe and the Great Bitter Lake is strewn with flints, those near the hill being comparatively sharp-edged, while those nearer the water are much more rounded and blunt, indicating prolonged action by moving water.

The foregoing is a summary of the geological evidence for the continuation of the Red Sea north of its present limit, but there is one piece of monumental evidence which I think is fairly conclusive. The town of Suez has been identified by some with the ancient Clysma, but I do not think on any surer foundation than that ancient writers speak of Clysma as being at the head of the Red Sea, and the modern town of Suez is also at the head of the Red Sea: and I know of no ancient remains at or near Suez which would lead to its identification with Clysma. During the excavations at Pithom a Roman milestone was discovered inscribed "from Ero to Clusmar eight miles." The place called Pithom, anciently Pa Temu, "the abode of the sun," was called Heroopolis by the Greeks and shortened into Ero by the Romans (who also had a military station there). So here we have a definite point Ero, and eight miles distant is Clysma, a town at the shore of the Red Sea: that brings the Red Sea at least six miles further north than the present limit of the Great Bitter Lake. Whether the Red Sea extended actually to Lake Timsah I am uncertain, though I think it probable, but the narrative as recorded would not make that a necessity for consistency. On referring to the accompanying sketch, the present limits of the lakes and Red Sea are shown in plain lines, and the probable shore line of the Red Sea in ancient times by dotted lines.

The city of Pithom, called by the natives Tell el-Maskuta, was excavated by M. Naville in 1884, and proved beyond a doubt that the city was called Pa Temu (Pithom in Hebrew) and that it was situated in the district of Thuku (Succoth in Hebrew). The word translated treasure city in our Bibles means store city, and was simply a military store depôt from which the armies proceeding to Syria or Sinai could be provisioned. The remains laid bare show immense numbers of chambers, most of them without entrances, the walls of which are three to five feet thick built of sun-dried bricks made of Nile mud. In some of the chambers, about five or six feet from the ground, are rows of holes in the walls with charred ends

of beams still in place, showing that the place was probably destroyed by fire. But the most interesting fact to the Biblical student is the two sorts of bricks which are clearly visible in distinct courses, one sort showing unmistakable traces of straw having been used in its manufacture, and others showing little or no traces of straw.

The town of Rameses has not been identified yet, but as it and Pithom are both called store cities, there is little doubt that it was on the eastern frontier of Egypt, possibly to the northward of Pithom, where it would serve as a depôt for the armies starting for Syria viâ Kantarah, just as Pithom would serve as a depôt for troops destined for the Sinai Peninsula. Now we have seen before that Pithom was situated in the district of Succoth, so it was probably near to Pithom that the first encampment was made, Exodus xii, 37.

There is an inscription of the date of King Meneptah relating to an enclosure or stronghold in the land of Succoth where travellers to or from Egypt were examined or permission given to pass, and no doubt Moses had to encamp here and show the written permission of Pharaoh to depart before they were allowed to pass, for we know that "red tape" is not of recent manufacture.

The next encampment was "in Etham, in the edge of the wilderness," Ex. xiii, 20, which we know was to the eastward of Lake Timsah. M. Naville connects the name Etham with the Egyptian word Atuma which is applied in an ancient papyrus to a district in this region; anyhow several lines of indirect reference leave us little doubt that the name Etham and the district which extended westwards as far as Lake Timsah are one and the same.

The next order was for the Israelites to retrace their steps somewhat and "turn and encamp before Pi-hahiroth . . . . ." The reasons given in the Biblical narrative are that God is yet to be honoured upon Pharaoh. The awful plagues, culminating in the death of the firstborn, seem to have had no real effect in breaking Pharaoh's pride, and there was to be yet one more judgment which would completely vindicate God's honour and avenge the oppression of Israel. However, there were strategical considerations which no doubt made the people willing to abandon the shortest route to the Promised Land. Going by "way of the land of the Philistines," Ex. xiii, 17, would mean a long desert journey of eight or ten days with comparatively little water, certainly not enough for such a host, and the people would be ill prepared for such an ordeal, to say

nothing of the warlike tribes they would meet on the southern borders of Palestine. The retrograde movement would have the effect of keeping them in touch with abundance of water and also in one day's march they would be in a position where at any rate both flanks would be protected.

Before we discuss the position of the next encampment, let us go on to our other fixed point, Marah, and work back from that. The modern name Ayun Mousa, "Wells of Moses," would in consequence of the well-known persistence of Eastern traditions, be very strong evidence in itself that Marah and Ayun Mousa were one and the same, but the erroneous idea that the crossing took place at Suez caused other places to be identified with Marah in an attempt to fit in the requirements of the narrative. The Sinai Survey, to which we are indebted for the fixing of Marah, has also shown us beyond a doubt the whole route as far as Sinai, and the Biblical narrative compared with their ordnance map will convince the ordinary mind that the former was written by someone who himself took part in the journey. And it must be remembered that the Survey party were not a party of Empress Helenas looking for bits of the golden calf, or Moses' rod, or marks on the rocks where the tables of the law bumped down the mountain side, but a party of military surveyors with the theodolite and measuring chain who would allow no evidence but what was in strict accord with modern scientific requirements, and which led the late Professor Palmer, who was one of the Survey party, to state that they afford "satisfactory evidence of the contemporary character of the narrative."

In Ex. xv, 22, 23, we find that after the passage of the Red Sea they travelled for three days in the wilderness of Shur, and found no water till they came to the waters of Marah. There is no doubt that the wilderness of Shur is that tract of land to the eastward of the Isthmus of Suez and immediately north of the Sinai Peninsula, from the several references to it in the Bible, and also the identifications of the Palestine Exploration Fund. Shur means a wall, and it is worthy of note that the appearance of a slightly raised plateau to the eastward of Suez has a very wall-like appearance. Now, we find from the information given us by the Ordnance Survey of Sinai that the Israelites travelled about ten to fifteen miles a day, and allowing ten miles a day for three days northward from Marah brings us to a point opposite the south end of the Great Bitter Lake, as the site of their crossing. If they crossed the sea further

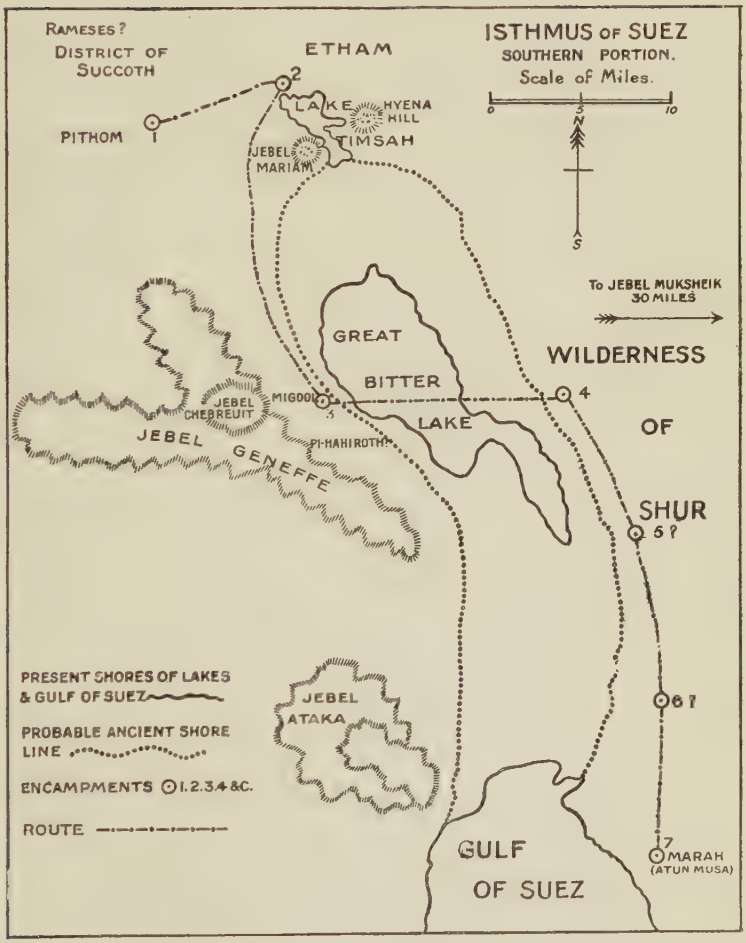
south it would mean that they were wandering aimlessly about for three days in the desert, wanting water, and yet within easy reach of Marah, the existence and position of which must have been well-known to Moses and probably many others of the host.

Having reached a point on the east side of Red Sea as the probable site of the passage across, let us go back and see whether our identifications lead to a point on the west shore corresponding with this. We have seen that after leaving the encampment in Etham the Israelites were told to "encamp before Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, over against Baal-zephon," Ex. xiv, 2, and again in verse 9 we find them encamped "beside Pi-hahiroth before Baal-zephon." Now a march of fifteen miles, which they would probably do, not being obliged to carry water with them—abundant supplies being available in the neighbourhood—would bring them to some point between Jebel Geneffe and the Great Bitter Lake, and it is here that most authorities place the scene of the passage of the Red Sea. However, there is difference of opinion as to the identification of the three places named in verse 2, and the two names in verse 9. Pi-hahiroth is believed to mean "place of reeds," Migdol means "a watch tower," and Baal-zephon means "Lord of the North." Pi-hahiroth may have been a village or, at any rate, a piece of marshy ground near the sea-shore in the position indicated in the accompanying sketch. Migdol has been identified with the peak of Jebel Ghebrewet, and for Baal-zephon, Jebel Mariam, Hyena Hill, Jebel Muksheik, and Jebel Ataka have been suggested as identifications. However, I think there is grave doubt as to these identifications for both Migdol and Baal-zephon. Taking the latter first and remembering that as evidently there was no name for the actual place, it was most carefully fixed by its proximity to three other places. Jebel Mariam is a rather conspicuous flat-topped hill about 70 feet high, but as we have been led by two converging lines of reasoning to a place between Jebel Ghebrewet and the sea, it is not likely that Jebel Mariam, a place thirteen miles away, and much nearer the previous day's encampment, would be used to fix so definitely a place of such importance. The same may be said of Hyena Hill, only more so, as it is less conspicuous than Jebel Mariam, and I have reason to believe is little more than a sand dune. Jebel Muksheik is nearly thirty miles away in the desert to the eastward, and does not contain any well-defined peaks, so I think it is unlikely that that would be used

to fix their position, and the same applies to Jebel Ataka which although high (2,700 feet) contains no conspicuous peaks, and is twenty-five miles distant and much nearer Marah than any other point on the journey. I have shown, I think, the weakness of the identification of any of these places with Baal-zephon, but evidently it was more important for fixing the place than Migdol, as it is mentioned in both verses 2 and 9, while Migdol is only mentioned in the former. To make my meaning more plain I would propose a slightly different rendering of verse 2, viz.: ". . . . . before Pi-hahiroth, between the Migdol that is over against Baal-zephon, and the sea." There are ancient references to watch towers on the eastern frontier of Egypt, and it is not at all unlikely that there were a series of "block houses" running down the coast from Pithom southwards. There would probably be one opposite Jebel Ghebrewet, and if we assume Jebel Ghebrewet to be Baal-zephon and a line drawn through that and a Migdol near running down to the shore, we have a position, the possible error of which cannot exceed two or three miles, which space would easily be occupied by the host of Israel. The place is good strategically, as their eastern flank would be protected by the sea and their western flank by the foothills of Jebel Geneffe, which are very broken and would present insuperable difficulties to Pharaoh's expeditionary force of six hundred chariots, so that they could only be attacked from the rear. The reasons which led me to identify Jebel Ghebrewet with Baal-zephon, are primarily, the obvious importance attached to it in the Biblical narrative and the difficulty of finding any other satisfactory place, and secondarily the name itself. One knows that ancient names generally "fitted" the place, and I think Lord of the North fits Jebel Ghebrewet well. It is a very sharp pointed cone—the summit is only about ten yards square, and the sides are very precipitous—it is the most conspicuous feature of the landscape for miles around, and from the top there is a most extensive bird's-eye view of the country round, and it is the *only* peak in the whole of the Nile Delta north of Jebel Ataka; so I think it would well deserve the name "Lord of the North." It may be objected that the Israelites would never have encamped near a Migdol if that was a fortified outpost; but I do not think that objection is so cogent as it seems on the face of it, for it is known that at the time Pharaoh had to repel an invasion of Libyan tribes on the west, and probably the eastern garrisons were depleted on that account, and

[*To face p.* 28.

ROUTE OF THE EXODUS.



MAP TO ILLUSTRATE LIEUT. V. L. TRUMPER'S SUGGESTED CROSSING OF THE RED SEA.

after all, they had had the royal permission to depart and had been allowed to pass the gates at Succoth, so it is not likely that the men in this outpost would attempt to stop them, and such a host as Israel could easily prevent messages reaching them of Pharaoh's change of plans and his pursuit.

We have now reached a spot on the west side of the sea opposite the spot we were led to on the east side and, as the lake between is comparatively shallow, I think we can identify this place as the site of the most momentous event in the past history of Israel, and ponder it with care and reverence as the type of what baptism is to the believer after he has been redeemed by the slaying of the Passover Lamb.

A DAY IN A FELLAH VILLAGE.

By Prof. R. A. Stewart Macalister, M.A., F.S.A.

The following extracts from some old notes of mine, not originally intended for publication, may be of interest. They were made while the Fund was working under Dr. Bliss's direction at Tell Zakariya.

18th September, 1899.—This has been an exciting day in the annals of Zakariya, and we have had to bear our share. No less than five weddings have taken place to-day, and the whole village is keeping holiday in consequence. For the last 10 days or so, every night, there has been a *fantasia* in the village. Of the five, four were weddings of Zakariya people: the fifth was a marriage of a Zakariya boy with a girl from the village of Edh-Dhenibbeh, about six or eight miles away. Brides cost money, and the cheapest way of getting a wife is to exchange an unnecessary sister or other female relation with a friend, which is what the Zakariya youth last named has done. He has succeeded in passing off a widowed connexion on his Dhenibbeh acquaintance in exchange for a juvenile bride, aged ten.

It is usual to deck out the bride in red, heavily veiled so that none of her face can be seen. She is then put on a camel, escorted by the other women, who walk behind decked out in gaudy colours,

singing a monotonous chant on two notes. A few men ride alongside. But the widow, as a point of etiquette, had to walk all the way, in respect to the family of her late husband, whom she was supposed to be, to some extent, dishonouring by entering another family—not that she had anything to do with it, as of course all was arranged for her and she had no voice in the matter. Usually when the two wedding processions meet—for the Dhenibbeh bride would start for Zakariya at about the same time as the Zakariya bride's setting out for Edh-Dhenibbeh—there is a fight, and the opposite sides stone each other and display other signs of hostility (Query, a survival of marriage by capture). At the last wedding procession some of the people got badly hurt, and a number of those who took part in the scene were still in prison.

In one case a Zakariya man was killed in such a fracas, the bride's party being from Beit Nettif. The homicide was compounded for by the family of the Beit Nettif man giving a girl to be married into the family of the Zakariya man.

Meanwhile, a messenger from the village came to the camp to summon us to a feast at the house of the bridegroom, a youth about seventeen years of age. We had just had our breakfast, and were disinclined for a further meal, but protests were useless: we had to go. The terms of the invitation were: "Come and honour your younger brothers by partaking of food in your own house." We were escorted to the top of the house, and placed there on cushions, while the rest of the party, the host and his relations, sat in the courtyard below. The usual *menu* was served up—coffee, then chunks of overboiled and tepid mutton served with rice, then more coffee. The whole ceremony lasted till nearly eleven.

In the afternoon the Dhenibbeh procession arrived, the bride conspicuous on the top of the camel. They came by the well of the village, where they paused, for the fellahin can never pass a well without having a drink. The women congregated curiously round the squatting camel, and, when assured that no men were near, peeped under the veil of the bride. Mrs. Dale, Dr. Bliss's sister, who is on a visit to the camp, reports that she is a pretty child (she is, as I have said, only about ten years old), but has only one eye, which is nearly closed with ophthalmia. As the bridegroom likewise has only one eye, they will be well matched.

Then the procession went on to the village, while the men (who had hung about a little away from the well from the time when the

train was first sighted) amused themselves by firing at marks with their guns and racing on their horses.

Now another bridal party came down towards the well. The bride was still wrapped up in her father's house and could not go out till the camel came to fetch her. But her friends had formed a rude figure, gaily decked, round which they danced, sang, and clapped their hands. I tried to get a photograph of this ceremony, but the howls of the women, calling on Allah and His Prophet to deliver them "from the eye," compelled me to keep my distance, and the result was useless. I wished I had a telephoto lens!

In the evening we had another feast. We had tried to decline—one fellah feast is more than enough for a day—but our new host had gravely informed us that unless we accepted his hospitality he would divorce his wife. He meant it, too, so to avoid a domestic break-up we made martyrs of ourselves; it was not over digestible! After dinner we had to go down to the village street again. One more of the numerous brides was to be brought to her future home, and had refused to start till our presence in the crowd should honour the ceremony. So we strolled out in the bright moonlight and joined a group of about 150 people, men, boys, and women, who were standing in the narrow village lane, between the mud-built houses, watching a camel squatting in front of the end of a still narrower lane branching off that in which we were standing. Presently from out of the mouth of this passage, where two people could not walk abreast, there came a number of women and girls, conducting the bride, who, like the others, was dressed in red with three peacock's feathers on her head. The women helped her to mount the camel, which was then led once round the whole village, the crowd of women following and keeping up their endless chant –

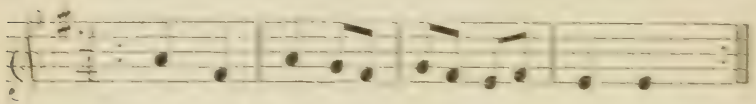
D.C. ad inf.

all the time. Before the bride started they stood in two groups, one on each side of the camel, and sang this antiphonally. After she was conducted round the village she was brought to the bride-groom's house. Here the men could not follow her, but the women did. Mrs. Dale afterwards reported what had taken place. Apparently a room is closed hermetically after a death for six months.

She was brought to such a room, and there was a long waiting in a rusty lock before the door could be opened, and long groping about inside the room before the lamp could be lighted. The women commented loudly on the fact that the bride had no jewels, which was considered a disgrace. The atmosphere inside the room was, as might be expected, not bad but vile. One could not wait for the actual unveiling ceremony itself.

The festival, above referred to, consists of a series of dances which may be thus described :—

First dance.—The men stand in a row side by side, shoulders pressed together, and sway rhythmically from side to side, their feet remaining in one position. There is a handclap at each change of position, which takes place on the accented notes of the tune.

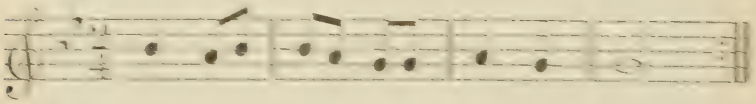


Sometimes instead of every second handclap the hands are impelled towards each other (without meeting), the fingers held upwards but the tips curved down.

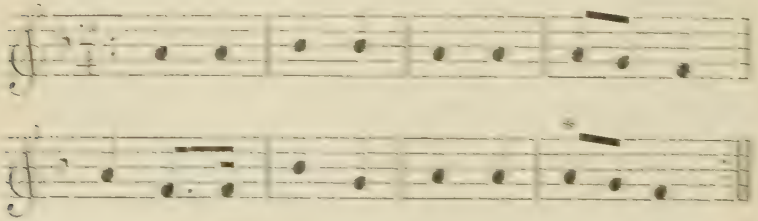
The tune is sung by half the row at a time, then the other half. Those not singing stamp forward as irregular intervals, resembling one of nothing so much as the "Three little maids from school" in the *Mikado*, humming a breath of air past the outer side of the teeth, making a "*th*" sound.

Examples of tunes :—

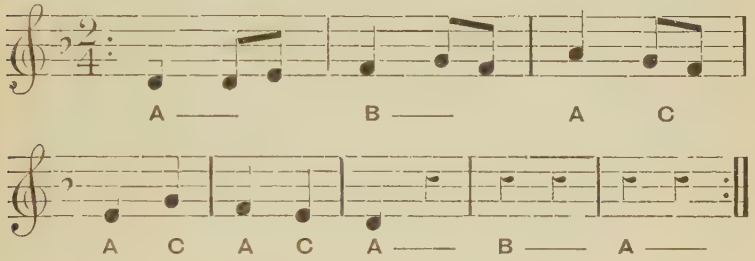
No. 1.



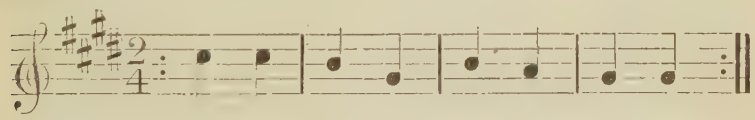
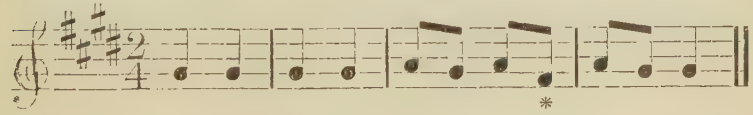
No. 2.



The second of these tunes is sung first by a solo voice and then repeated in chorus : the chorus enters on the note marked *.

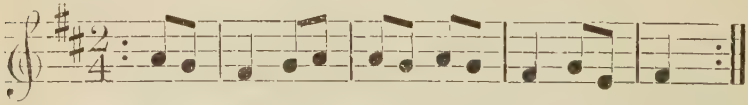
Second dance.—The men stand in a circle, close together, but not touching. Their hands are clasped thus—the left wrist of one man crosses the right wrist of his neighbour, and *vice versa*, and the fingers are turned backwards so as to interlock. A fire is lighted, and they circle round in front of (not around) it. The procession moved left-hand-wise, but there may be no rule. The following tune is sung :—

A step forward is taken on the left foot at the notes marked A, on the right foot at the notes marked B ; a step backward on the right foot at the notes marked C. The circle evidently remains stationary in the 3rd–5th bars of the tune, moving forward at the beginning and end. The left foot is stamped twice at the repeat of the tune.

Third dance.—This is similar to the second, but with different tunes and different arrangement of steps. There is no backward step, but a double stamp with each foot alternately. The tunes are :

No. 1.

No. 2.

The note * in the second of these is sometimes G♯. This tune has a solo part which unfortunately I did not note. Unlike No. 4, there is but one repeat in the chorus.

Fourth dance.—The men form a segment of a ring, standing close together. Another is inside the segment and tries to escape, but the others close round him and prevent him. The single man moves hither and thither in the direction of the arrows in the diagram. The men in the row are stooping forward all the time, and keep up an accompaniment of deep guttural grunts. There is no tune at this dance.

Fifth dance.—The men stand in a row as in the first dance, but another stands in front of them with a sword or something to do duty as a sword. He waves it backwards and forwards and from side to side. The row move, swaying in rhythm to the motions of the sword; the swordsman is exactly like the conductor of an orchestra. The accompaniment of grunts is kept up as in the fourth dance. Apparently the row of men are personating a wild beast in conflict with the swordsman, but I cannot be sure of this.

Sixth dance.—The men stand in two rows facing one another; the fire is at the end of the lane between the rows. The following tune is sung:—

At the accented notes there is a hand-clap. At the *unaccented* notes one of the rows bends at right angles at the waist towards the other row, which remains upright—alternating in successive bars.

The rate of this dance is roughly about ♩ = 66, the others about ♩ = 72. The words sung to these tunes appear to be either erotic, or else extemporaneous compliments to the spectators.

1. Lining up for Dance I.

2. The Fifth Dance.

SOME INTERESTING POTTERY REMAINS.

The specimens of pottery here reproduced and discussed are from the collection of Mr. Herbert E. Clark, of Jerusalem, to whom we are indebted for the photographs. They are from tombs in the South foot of Tel el-Fūl, exhumed in July, 1909, and Mr. Clark has rightly believed that they will be interesting to many readers, and especially to students. Mr. Clark's own description follows, and to it are appended remarks kindly contributed by Prof. R. A. S. Macalister:—

Plate I.—No. 1. Rudely made female figurine, in terra-cotta, with arms broken off, "Mother goddess," "Ashtaroth of the Canaanites," "Abomination of the Heathen." No. 2. Iridescent blue glass, inlaid with white and yellow paste, ointment vase, Phoenician work, found inside the two plates left and right, silted full of soil.

Plate II.—No. 1. Five terra-cotta ointment jars of the ancient Egyptian "Alabastrian" forms, two of which were found with their bronze spatula in them. No. 2. Terra-cotta "Child's rattle"?? ceremonial, probably to drive away evil spirits. No. 3. Three terra-cotta ointment jars, imitation of old Egyptian forms but rudely made, late Jewish Kingdom style of work. No. 4. Lamp of oldest Canaanite form, but like most of these articles, Jewish Kingdom work; thick and heavy compared to the pre-Israelite period; yet this has no foot as was usual at this time; lips forming nose of lamp, unusually pinched together for this period. No. 5. Three types of plates: first one, deep thick rim, half plate, half bowl, so to say; plate on books less deep, but thick rim; these shapes are made to-day and used by the peasants. Third one to right is a shallow disk of pottery, used for some kinds of dry foods and fruit. All ancient shapes and of fairly fine pottery, and all have a foot. No. 6. Jar of Canaanite shape, neck gone.

Plate III.—Articles, 18 oil jars or jugs of different ancient forms, specially interesting are those: first to right of centre one

on books, in top line, black burnished pottery ; second next to it, red burnished, but the burnishing is poor and irregularly done all over the surface ; pottery thick and heavy, bad striving to imitate old work and old shapes ; their ancestors found in the country a thousand years before, or several hundred at least. The most interesting jar is that in animal form with two legs, horns and nose gone, representing the Bull ; also one of earliest emblems of man's deity ; whether representing the constellation of the Bull, Power or Strength, and utility on earth, with the figure of Ashtaroth in Plate I, these speak loudly of the "Spiritual Backsliding" of Judaea.

Plate IV.—Articles 1. Three water drinking jars, light gray pottery, forerunners of those made to-day at Beyrouth, Syria, in shapes called in Arabic "Courrāz," favourite drinking jars all over the country. No. 2. Milk-jugs, no doubt, especially second from left, it looks so similar to those of to-day in shape. No. 3. Dippers for dipping water or other liquids, these and No. 2 are of red pottery ; also shape not earlier than the Israelite Kingdom and rather more Jewish, are particularly types of Judean hill country development. No. 4. Probably oil jar of large size and of old shape.

All of these specimens of pottery of these four plates, from several tombs, are of several dates, no doubt ; yet dates between 900 B.C. and 500 B.C. They are all so "Hebrew Canaanite" in shape and not work. "Hebrew decadence" of the fine old ware of 600 to 900 years older. All a clean unmixed group of pottery, found without that of other periods, and at this site of Tell el-Fūl, believed to be Gibeah of Saul, they are very interesting, and especially Plate IV, except jar 4, as showing group of clear "V Semitic" production of shapes and style.

I have carefully examined the photographs sent by Mr. Clark, and his accompanying letter, and am pleased to find myself in almost complete agreement with him as to the dating and explanation of the various pieces. I might perhaps be inclined to assign some of them to a slightly later date than Mr. Clark seems to suggest, but the difference is in all cases inconsiderable.

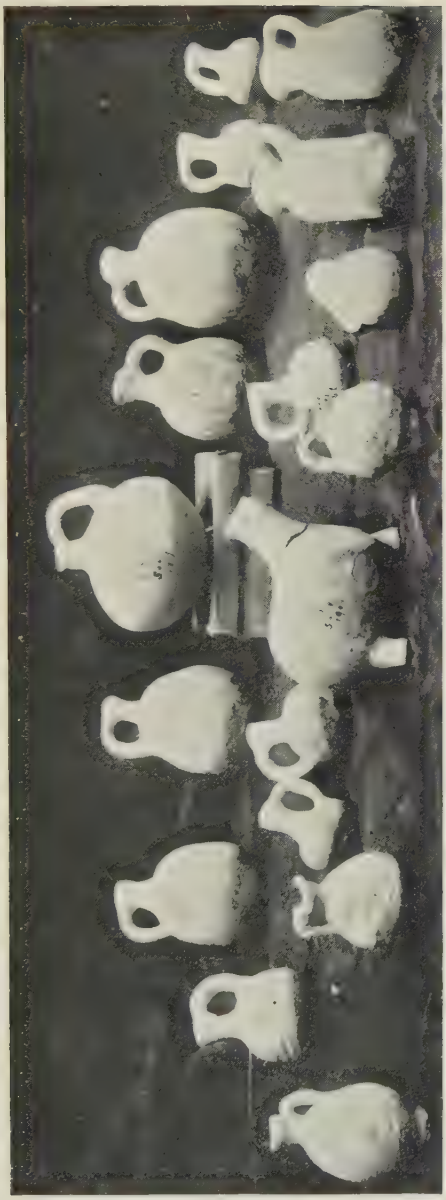
Plate I.—The goddess figure is a common type, certainly Cypriote in immediate origin ; note the characteristic beak-like face, and the

[To face p. 36.

Plate I.

[To face p. 36.

Plate II.



1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9

pillar form of the lower part of the body. The glass vessel is remarkably fine; it may be questioned, however, whether it is not Egyptian rather than Phoenician. It is more than doubtful if there ever was such a thing as an indigenous Phoenician art at all. If these four pieces belong to one tomb-group, I should be inclined to date them about 800–700 B.C.

Plate II.—These seem more heterogeneous, and are probably not one group. The lamp, No. 4, is a very late type, and I should date it after the fall of the monarchy of Judah. The long spout with parallel sides, and the broad flat brim (especially the latter), are late features. The imitations in terra-cotta of alabaster ointment jars are curious. The original alabaster vessels would probably be about the date of Ramessu III; the imitations would naturally be rather later, but not nearly (as I suppose) so late as the lamp. The rattle (No. 2) is a class of object that seems to be commonest about the beginning of the time of the Hebrew monarchy. The small ointment pots (3) are late—about the time of the lamp, or a little earlier. The same remark applies to the water-jar (6) with its so-called "umbrella" base. The plates (5) are not very characteristic, but I take it are about the same date as the ointment pots (3).

Plate III.—All these pieces are uniformly of the time at or immediately after the fall of the Hebrew monarchy. The rude animal figure is probably an imitation of Cypriote forms.

Plate IV.—The three vases marked 1 I should date to the Maccabean period; the jug, No. 4, also probably belongs to that date. The other vessels on this plate might be slightly earlier, but not much.

R. A. S. M.

THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE PAPYRUS PLANT IN EGYPT.

By Joseph Offord.

In Isaiah xix, 7, the prophet, according to the Authorised Version, foresees the destruction of "the paper reeds by the brooks." The literal accomplishment of this prophecy of the disappearance of the prolific growth of the papyrus plant, which was one of the chief natural phenomena of Lower Egypt in ancient times has been noticed by several writers. But the abundant growth of these plants in the Delta in antiquity, as demonstrated by Egyptian landscape artists, has never been more interestingly described than by M. Georges Benedite, in an essay upon illustrations upon the monuments of the netting of water fowl he has recently published.

In this treatise he convincingly shows from the tomb reliefs and paintings of aquatic birds, and their habitat, the extraordinary abundance of the papyrus plant in Lower Egypt and the Delta during the long period in which these designs were being executed. He explains that the chief sites, where the sport of bird netting, or the killing of birds for food by means of the Egyptian boomerang, were in the then semi-lacustrine regions of the Northern Delta approaching the sea, the natural features of which have been quite altered in character by subsequent depression of the land, or increase of the Mediterranean's level. So abundant, under the Middle the dynasties and the earlier ones, were the papyrus plants there, that hieroglyph acting as determinative for this country was a threefold stemmed papyrus plant. From some of the Isis-myths we are also informed that the Delta was filled with the same rich vegetation in the Pre-dynastic and mythical eras.

This aquatic plant also was, in the earlier texts, especially placed under the patronage of the Deltaic deity, Buto. A similar abundance of the papyrus must also at one time have existed in Middle Egypt, because the Cow-goddess Hathor is, at Thebes and numerous other sites, delineated as standing partially concealed among the

tall waving papyri. In all the tableaux or reliefs, the marshy, riverine, and lacustrine regions, which were intersected by the Nilotic branches and connecting canals, is geographically figured by tufts or fascines of papyrus and other water-nourished reeds and grasses, the tufts of seedlings and flowery coronets being depicted in greater proportionate profusion than their leaves.

That they are specially aquatic plants their faithful drawing reveals to any botanist, but the Egyptian artists, with the meticulous pains they invariably exercised, left the question quite certain by, and this is especially the case with the papyrus, adding at the roots the graphic symbol for water, of wavy lines, even to the vignette or hieroglyph, calling attention to the subject being that of aquatic plants, or of districts wherein such flourished.

In the tableaux of aquatic bird netting, they sometimes added other water-frequenting animals, such as the ichneumon.

These reliefs and paintings of scenes representing the snaring of wild fowl are one series of the graphic records for the preparation for the funeral feast provisions, or for the obtaining of poultry as sacrificial birds for temple worship. Some may be also pictorial presentiments of the happy sport to be enjoyed by the defunct in the next world, whose Elysian fields, and lakes, and canals were a duplicate of the mundane Egypt. The scenes indicate the bird-hunting amidst dense groves of papyri, and faithfully represent Egypt's natural feature of their age. To-day, as foretold, this type of vegetation has vanished, and the only papyri growing in a natural state in all Lower Egypt known to me are in the Esbekieh Gardens fountain at Cairo, or the botanical gardens, or at the Barrage.

A NEW HEBREW WEIGHT.

By the Rev. M. H. Segal, M.A.

In reference to Mr. Pilcher's interesting note under this heading in the April number of the *Quarterly Statement* (p. 99), in which he gives Mr. Raffaeli's interpretation of 1 Samuel, xiii, 21, I would like to be allowed to state that in my Hebrew Commentary on the Books of Samuel, to be issued shortly by Mr. Abraham Kahana, of Kieff, I have also suggested the identity of פִּים with the weight פִּים, described by Mr. Pilcher in this *Quarterly*, of 1912, pp. 186–7, and by Prof. Macalister in his *Bible*, II, p. 285. My Commentary has been in type since October, 1913, though its publication has unfortunately been delayed through some unavoidable causes. I cannot, however, agree with Mr. Raffaeli's interpretation of הַפְּצִירָה. It is hard to see how Mr. Raffaeli can extract from it the meaning of *payment*. Surely the ancient writer would have used for the idea of payment a more common expression, such as שָׁלוֹם or שֵׁבֶר. I think the old Jewish commentators were not far from the truth, when they explained הַפְּצִירָה as *file*. The word seems to me to be derived from the root פָּצַר in its physical and primary sense of *pressing*. Compare Genesis xix, 9: וַיִּפְצְרוּ בְאִישׁ בְּלוֹט, which can only mean, "They *pressed*, or pushed, the man, even Lot." The common use of the root פָּצַר in the sense of pressing or urging by means of words, is evidently of a secondary or figurative character. הַפְּצִירָה will thus be a verbal noun in the form of פְּעִילָה (*cf.* אֲבִילָה, 1 Kings, xix, 8, and my *Mishnaic Hebrew*, p. 59), with the meaning of *pressing* an iron instrument for the purpose of sharpening, or, perhaps filing, it. The noun will thus be parallel to לְלַטְּשׁ in the previous verse. Mr. Raffaeli's emendation וּשְׁלִישׁ הַשֶּׁקֶל for וּלְשָׁלֹשׁ קְלָשִׁין is very clever, and may be correct. Nehemiah, x, 33, proves the existence of a coin of the value of one-third of a shekel.

I may add that the assumption that the Hebrew text of the LXX differed in this verse from the Massoretic Text is altogether unwarranted. The author of the LXX had before him substantially the same text as ours, *minus* a few vowel letters, only he misread some of the letters and arranged them in a different order. This becomes evident when we retranslate his Greek into Hebrew, and compare it with the Massoretic Text. His Greek runs as follows: *καὶ ἦν ὁ τρυγητὸς ἕτοιμος τοῦ θερίζειν· τὰ δὲ σκεύη ἦν τρεῖς σικλοι εἰς τὸν ὀδόντα, καὶ τῇ ἀξίνῃ καὶ τῷ δρεπάνῳ ὑπόστασις ἦν ἡ αὐτή. ὁ τρυγητὸς* = הבציר[ה] represents the Massoretic [ה]הפציר; *ἕτοιμος* = בשל represents ב[י]ם and the ל of the following word; *τοῦ θερίζειν* is the same as *τὸ θέριστρον* in *v.* 20, which represents חרמש[ות], a misreading of מחרשתו, or מחרשות; *τὰ σκεύη* is אתים; *τρεῖς σίκλοι εἰς τὸν ὀδόντα* = שלש שקל שן = שלש קלש[ו]ן, with the second ש dittographed; *ὑπόστασις* = למצב for ל[י]הצ[י]ב. Thus we get the following comparison:—

LXX: והי[ת]ה הבציר בשל חרמש[ות] ולאתים
M.T.: והיתה הפציר[ה] פ[י]ם למחרשות ולאתים

LXX: ולשלש שקל שן ולהקרדמים ולמצב הדרבן
M.T.: ולשלש קלש[ו]ן ולהקרדמים ולהצ[י]ב הדרבן

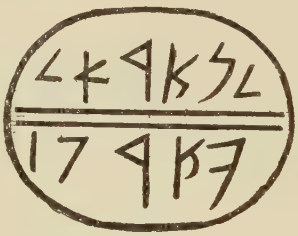
It may be noted that of the letters making up פים, פ is represented in the LXX text by the graphically similar ב, and מ by ש, whereas י is not represented at all. This seems to indicate that the *yod* is a vowel letter, and as such did not exist in the archaic text of the LXX. It follows, therefore, that the traditional pronunciation of the word *pim* is correct, and that the transliteration of the name of the weight as *payam*, adopted by Mr. Pilcher and Prof. Macalister, is erroneous.

Newcastle-on-Tyne, *September*, 1914.

A MOABITE SEAL.

By E. J. Pilcher.

I forward a sketch (enlarged about three diameters) of a signet recently discovered at Kerak in Moab. The material is hematite; the face is convex: and a hole is drilled from end to end of the stone. Although this object was found in Moab, it is in the usual style of Jewish seals, and the lettering is of the Old Hebrew type, in spite of its peculiar features.



The inscription reads:—

לנצראל
הצרף

"of Naẓarel, the goldsmith."

The name *Naẓarel* may be rendered: "God has kept." It does not occur in the Old Testament, but is quite of legitimate formation. In a private communication, Dr. G. Buchanan Gray has been good enough to compare it with a somewhat similar name given by de Vogüé in his *Syrie Centrale*, p. 250, viz., נצרלת [for נצר אלת].

The second line of the inscription recalls Neh. iii, 31, "*Malkiyah ben Haẓorphi*;" and it is possible that we may read the signet as "of Naẓarel (son of) Haẓorphi," although the interpretation given above is preferable.

The epigraphy is anomalous. The form of the two *Ẓades*, seems to be novel. The *He* has only two bars, instead of three—a somewhat unusual feature, but not unprecedented. The final letter is more like a *Gimel* than a *Pe*. The stroke at the end of the second line appears on a few signets as a word-divider: though it is seldom found at the end of an inscription, as in this case.

AN EGYPTIAN LIST OF PALESTINIAN AMBASSADORS.

THE well-known Egyptologist, Prof. W. Max Müller, of the University of Pennsylvania, has described in a recent issue of the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (April, 1914, pp. 651–656) an Egyptian document of much interest for the early history of Palestine. The Russian Government, it seems, has published a magnificent collection of some of the papyri in the museum of Petrograd, containing many important texts dating from the "Middle Empire" (after 2000 B.C.). Among them is one hitherto unknown, consisting of what seems to be a list of official accounts "dealing principally with payments in grain from the royal granaries." "After closer examination," proceeds Prof. Müller, "it proves to contain a piece of great importance for the history of Palestine, which I believe my duty to bring directly to the knowledge of Biblical students. It is a list of Palestinian ambassadors to whom rations in grain and beer were measured out from the governmental magazines, probably at Thebes."

Referring readers to the *Jewish Quarterly Review* for Prof. Müller's article, we may state briefly the leading facts. The list appears twice in the papyrus, with some variants. It purports to be the account of the grain furnished to the nobles (*ma-ra-y-na*) of Syria (*Sa-ha*). A dozen towns in all are mentioned: (1) Megiddo, "The name stands first because of the very prominent part played by that city, not only during the first campaign of Thutmosis III. It had an important situation on the most direct road over the Carmel, connecting Palestine and Phoenicia." As is well known, the "hill-country of Megiddo (*har Megiddo*), the great battle-ground of nations, became the typical scene of the world-fight, and, in the form Armageddon, passes into the Apocalypse of St. John as the last great battlefield. (2) Kinneroth, the Naphtalite town. (3) *Y(a)-ka-si-pu*, apparently the Biblical Achshaph (on the border of Asher). (4) *Sha-ma-du-na*, which Prof. Muller identifies with the name Shabbethon. (5) The familiar Taanach. (6) [*Ru*]-*sha-'ā-ra*, explained conjecturally by Prof. Müller as "God's summit" (ראש אל). (7) *Ti-n-nï*—a

problem; Dan or a mistake for *Ti-pu-nu* (Dibon) are hesitatingly suggested. (8) and (9) The familiar Sharon and Ashkelon. (10) *Ḥa-su-ra*, apparently Hazor. (11) *Ha-tu-ma* is unknown.

Prof. Müller observes: "The principal importance of this list is that it gives us an idea of those cities which in the time of Thutmosis III, *i.e.* after 1500 B.C., were seats of kings. Only an independent king would deal directly with the suzerain in Egypt; chiefs under his rule had, of course, to communicate through the agency of the king; otherwise it would have been high treason for them, just as Pharaoh could not tolerate one of his vassals to write to Assyria or to the king of the Hittites."

Especially noteworthy is the fact that Egypt pays for the maintenance of the messengers, or "nobles" as they are grandly styled. "This would agree with their coming as bearers of tribute or in other important functions. I feel doubtful whether every bearer of a tablet to the Egyptian court could claim support from the Egyptian officials on the road or those at Pharaoh's residence. Thus those 'messengers' may have had a somewhat exceptional character. At any rate, they were hardly an accidental gathering. The selection of names gives us the impression that a small caravan was formed in Galilee to keep company on the unsafe roads of Palestine . . . . ."

Finally (12) in an isolated part of the papyrus we read "account of grain and beer for the messenger of *Ru-ki-sha* . . ." This is the first mention in an Egyptian text of Lachish and it supports the fact that the city was an important one even in the time of Thutmosis III.

Prof. Max Müller's study of this interesting document should be consulted by those who desire fuller and more technical information.

S. A. C

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS.

Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria, 1904-1905 *and* 1909: *Division II.—Ancient Architecture in Syria*, by Howard Crosby Butler; *Division III.—Greek and Latin Inscriptions in Syria*, by William Kelly Prentice; *Section B.—Northern Syria. Part* 5.—*The Djebel Halakah.*

We have again been favoured by the gift of another Part of this valuable publication, which in no way falls short of previous issues. Indeed, the authors have now the advantage of their own experience in this little travelled region: and if they surprise us less now than at first it is because they have already shown us so much astonishing material. It cannot be said that the present pages are not as full of the evidences of a very remarkable and interesting period of civilisation as their predecessors. They present the same problems and the same food for speculation, and add to the accumulated facts connected with these cities in desert places. One of the most striking inferences resulting from these facts, and confirmed by those observed in our recent survey of the south country, is the extraordinary commercial prosperity and agricultural intelligence which prevailed in these bare, inhospitable regions, during the Byzantine period especially, but practically for the first five or six centuries of the Christian Era. It needed a marked sense of security for a people to erect the great stone-built towns and important buildings of which we still can see such vast remains.

The present volume includes a group of hills having Djebel Halakah as centre, and the Djebels Simân and Barishâ, lying north-east and south-west respectively, and the plain of Sermedâ between it and the latter. A good map from a survey by Mr. F. A. Norris, C.E., and covering an area of about 20 miles by 18, indicates the relative position of the ruined towns, described and well illustrated by photographs, with drawn plans and suggested restorations of the buildings. Many of these are very remarkable;

and it is a fortunate circumstance that in many cases inscriptions afford the actual dates of their erection. Those which have been planned and measured include churches, convents, public buildings, and dwellings; while of some the authors have been unable to define their purpose. Memorial structures also occur, and, in one place, rock-cut tablets of that character. There is little sculptured ornament and even mouldings are infrequent. In several places there are important structures, of two or more storeys, consisting of squared monolith piers carrying plain squared lintels; in some of these rounded columns are used in the upper story, as at Zerzitā, where the length of lintel, and consequent spacing of the supports in both storeys, varies very considerably. This example shows an upper storey with columns for half its length and squared uprights for the rest. In the same place is a tower of some architectural pretension, dated A.D. 500, and, close to it, a porch dated A.D. 423.

The remains of such features of houses occur in many of the sites, and they appear to have formed "loggias," or "verandahs," to afford shade on their south fronts.

The region is crossed by the old Roman road from Antioch to Aleppo, eastward from which the country has not been explored. "The civilisation represented by its ruins began to flourish"—says Mr. Butler—"at least as early as the first century of our era, and "was probably in existence a century or more earlier, though the "earliest inscription, which was discovered at Refâdeh, is dated in "the year A.D. 73." Other dated inscriptions show that a high state of civilisation existed in the plain of Sermedā early in the second century; but the custom of dating inscriptions on buildings appears only to have come into vogue at the period of the Roman domination.

In the valley houses seem to have been built of sun-dried brick, and have perished; but, in the mountains, stone only seems to have been used. Of the latter, "the earliest private house with "a definitely dated inscription" bears the date A.D. 207. It is constructed almost entirely of "polygonal" masonry, which seems to have been the more ancient method of the district.

Of the convents one of the most important and complete, "Kazr il-Benat" (Maidens' Castle), stood near the old Roman highway, and of this Mr. Butler gives an interesting plan and photographs of its ruins, as well as several drawings of detail, which have more carving than usual.

In the open space of the Court stood a tower some 70 feet high.

It is with regard to this convent that Mr. Butler writes: "It is "a rare experience, in these days, to journey over an ancient road, "built by the Romans, and unimproved since the sixth century, "and unexpectedly to come upon an imposing group of buildings, "untenanted for upwards of thirteen hundred years, and untouched "save by time."

Another convent of interesting plan, but without a chapel (as was also the case in the Byzantine Convent at 'Ain Shems), occurs at Dêr Tell Adeh. An inscription, in Syriac, on the lintel gives the date A.D. 601, but another date on the same portal gives A.D. 907; and on the tower A.D. 941, while another tower near this, at Burdj es-Seb, shows A.D. 858, all of which are in Syriac and subsequent to the Mohammedan conquest.

A chapel at Kfellūsîn, which Mr. Butler assigns to the middle of the sixth century, presents some curious decorative features; and at the same place a tower, dated A.D. 492, has a latrine projecting from its top storey. Here also is an interesting example of a three-storied house, dated A.D. 473 and A.D. 486.

The inscriptions have been carefully transcribed and edited by Mr. Prentice. Their interest is largely that of giving the dates of the buildings on which they occur, and in many instances they include some pious Christian invocation over an entrance; much as similar invocations are still to be found inscribed on old houses in Switzerland and Germany, or, indeed, in England.

We have received from the Archaeological Institute of America the Third Part of Vol. I of their new publication *Art and Archaeology*. The quality both of text and illustration keeps well up to the standard of its first issue, and its subjects cover a wide field—from aboriginal art in America to a temple at Pekin. The articles are written rather in a "popular" than in a scientific or technical style, and appeal to a general public. One, on "The German Excavations at Ba'albek," is by our Hon. Secretary for the United States, Prof. Lewis Bayles Paton. In this one may take exception to the opening description of the position of Ba'albek as "located in the centre of the plain of Coele-Syria, midway between Beirût and Damascus." It is several miles north of the latitude of Beirût and more than thirty miles north of Damascus (as the crow flies); so far from being in the centre of the plain, it is at the foot of the

eastern range, the Anti-Lebanon; and a good day's ride from the road which connects Damascus with Beirût.

There is a graceful article, by Mr. Walton Brooks McDaniel, on "Pliny's Villa 'Comedy' on Lake Como"; and it is charmingly illustrated by photographs of the locality.

J. D. C.

In *The East and the West* (Oct., 1914), the premier place is given to an article by Dr. Masterman on "The Anglican Bishopric in Jerusalem: its history and possibilities." He starts with its establishment, the first proposal for which emanated in 1840 from Frederic William IV, king of Prussia, "a purely personal proposal of the king, and a very broad-minded and generous one, too, inasmuch as the substantial capital he put aside towards the endowment fund was from his privy purse." Dr. Masterman describes the main objects of the bishopric and the work of the four successive bishops. After the death of the third, Bishop Barclay, the (present) Kaiser, William, signified that he did not desire the old arrangements to continue, and "the funds set apart originally by the Prussian king have been used—since the re-organization of the bishopric—to build several buildings connected with German Church work in Jerusalem." A sympathetic and instructive account is given of the work done during the twenty-seven years' service of Bishop Blyth, and Dr. Masterman carefully explains the problems and needs that confront mission work throughout Palestine. He points out how very important is a knowledge of Arabic, and he concludes by emphasizing a want that has often been expressed: "Jerusalem ought to become more a centre of study for the clergy of the Church of England, as it is increasingly a place of learning for other communities. The proposed Jewish University in Jerusalem is sure to attract Hebrew students. The American, German, and the French (Roman Catholic) all have institutes for Biblical archaeology and allied subjects. England alone is backward in this respect. A great opportunity presents itself to make St. George's College an intellectual centre where theological students or young clergy could reside and, under the direction of the Bishop or some principal appointed by him, could take up some of the many lines of study which residence in Jerusalem and the Holy Land suggests and encourages. Six months passed in study in Palestine should be of enormous benefit to any teacher of the Bible, and the Church

of England as a body appears to have been singularly backward in making provision for anything of this kind."

The Homiletic Review for October, 1914, contains a most interesting article on "The Future of Turkish Arabia," by the Rev. S. M. Zwemer, D.D., of Cairo. He gives it as his opinion that Arabia is destined to play a large part in the future of Islam and of the Nearer East, and his study of the economic, political, social and religious conditions is of exceptional interest in view of the present situation. He points out that Arabia, four times the size of France, is only about one-third desert; the rest, if irrigated and properly managed, has a future before it. But "the whole problem of agriculture is the agriculturist himself. To make farmers of the nomad population and to put an end to border warfare between rival tribes would be to create a new Arabia." As regards the religious problems, the struggle in Arabia for many centuries has been one of Moslem against Moslem, and the possibility of an Arabian caliphate is not ignored. "Christian missions," writes Dr. Zwemer, "have only begun their task in Arabia. The United Free Church of Scotland at Aden, together with the Danish Mission, has established a strong base for the future evangelization of all Yemen; and through medical and school work is already reaching out far into the interior. The Church Missionary Society occupies Bagdad, perhaps the most strategic centre to-day in the whole peninsula, and the American Arabian Mission, with thirty missionaries, effectively reaches the entire eastern coast from Busrah to Muscat, on medical, educational, and evangelistic lines. The University of Michigan is co-operating with this mission in hospital work at Busrah."

S. A. C.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

1. *Specimen of Rock from Solomon's Quarries.*[1]—A specimen of the rock from Solomon's quarry was lately received by us for analysis. It is the material that served in the construction of Solomon's Temple, a building characterized by Dr. Lyman Abbott as an *architectural splendour*. The rock is of snowy whiteness, soft when first removed from the quarry, but it soon hardens on exposure to the air. The natives call the rock from this portion of the quarry "The Royal." The quarries extend underneath the city. The rock is soft and quite porous. There is a variety in another portion of the quarry on a higher level, which is locally called "The Hard Jewish." The analysis was made by G. H. Wiesner, in the Cornell chemical laboratory, as follows:—

$CaCO_3$	...	...	...	99·32 %
$MgCO_3$	...	...	...	0·67 "
				99·99 %

There is not a trace of silica iron or alumina. It is almost a perfect specimen of calcium carbonate, with only a small quantity of magnesium carbonate. It is purer limestone than Carrara marble,[2] and the query arises whether there is another limestone formation as extensive as this anywhere, of equal purity. It would be an ideal rock for Portland cement and calcium carbide, on account of the low magnesia content. The specimen was sent us by Mr. Herbert E. Clark, Jaffa Gate, Jerusalem, for which we desire to record our hearty thanks. He suggested, as the formation lies under the city, and being porous, that drainage may have affected the nature of the rock, but the analysis does not seem to indicate any disturbing influence.

[1] Reprinted, with permission, from *Proceedings of the Iowa Academy of Science*, XX, 1913.

[2] *School Science and Mathematics*, February, 1911, p. 175.

On account of the porosity, we did not get a satisfactory result in determining the specific gravity. By one method we obtained 2·25, and by another process 2·48. The latter would seem to be more nearly the correct value.

NICHOLAS KNIGHT.

---

2. *Specimen of the "Hard Jewish" Rock from Solomon's Quarries.*—The specimen is of a buff colour, hard, brittle, fine grained, compact, and apparently a very durable limestone. The specific gravity of 2·7, and also the fact of its breaking with a conchoidal fracture, indicate its fineness of texture and compactness. It is much harder than "The Royal," obtained in another portion of the quarries, and in colour there is a marked contrast to the snowy whiteness of "The Royal." The analysis was made in the chemical laboratory of Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Iowa, by John C. Cogswell, and resulted as follows:—

$CaCO_3$	...	...	...	87·84 %
$MgCO_3$	...	...	...	7·10 %
SiO_2	...	...	...	3·51 %
Fe_2O_3	...	...	...	0·32 %
Al_2O_3	...	...	...	1·08 %
	Total	...	...	99·85 %

The specimen was sent by Herbert E. Clark, Jaffa Gate, Jerusalem, to whom we extend our hearty thanks.

NICHOLAS KNIGHT.

November 3rd, 1914.

---

3. *Maccabaean Shekels.*—Prof. Kennedy in his review of Mr. Hill's Catalogue of the British Museum Coins (*Q.S.*, October, 1914), supports Mr. Hill's opinion that the usual so-called (?) "Maccabaean shekels" belong to the period of the first Jewish Revolt, A.D. 66–70. I may mention that in my Hebrew book on Jewish Coins מטבעות היהודים I have replied at length to Mr. Hamburger's arguments, who also supported this theory, one of my objections

being that, during the long time of my handling these shekels (nearly 25 years), I have never seen a "shekel" or a "half shekel" with traces or remains of Roman coins, to suggest the possibility that they have been issued later than the Maccabaean period.

My argument is still a strong one. I have visited the Museum at the "Notre Dame de France" in our city, and with the kind permission of Père Vassel I have carefully examined the "shekel" and "half shekel" found at the excavation of the "Maison de Caïphe," described by Père Durand in the *Revue Biblique* (April, 1914, fig. 14). I could positively ascertain that there were no traces on either of them of any Roman letters or figures, as usually found on the coins of the Second Jewish Revolt, to give us any slight suggestion of "contemporary Roman coins." Both coins are not very well preserved, and I have handled many similar specimens, one "Shekel Year 2" in a similar preservation I have in my own collection. But nothing in their face can prove against the usual attribution to Simon Maccabaeus.

SAMUEL RAFFAELI.

JERUSALEM, *November 1st*, 1914.

THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

The next Annual General Meeting being the fiftieth, His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, the President of the Society, has kindly consented to take the Chair, and has appointed Tuesday, the 22nd of June, the anniversary of the date on which the Society was founded (22nd June, 1865).

The Meeting will be held in the Lecture-room of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, Piccadilly (by kind permission of the Council), and the Chair will be taken at 3.30 p.m.

Applications for tickets of admission should be made to the Secretary, at 2, Hinde Street, W., as soon as possible after May 15th, the available space being limited.

NOTES AND NEWS.

The New Survey: Double Annual for 1914–15.—The material resulting from the Survey of the Southern Country ("The Desert of the Wanderings") in the early part of 1914 proves to be more voluminous and more complete than could have been anticipated, seeing how short a time was available, owing to climate and other considerations. The whole Survey party must have worked with an energy and industry exceeding that of any previous expedition, notwithstanding the unusual difficulties which beset them from the nature of the country. The notes and descriptions of the various

localities included are full and careful, and Messrs. Woolley and Lawrence are to be congratulated on having made them vivid and interesting, and on having secured so many and characteristic photographic illustrations as well as plans. The few inscriptions collected have been examined and carefully analysed by Mr. Marcus Tod, of Oxford. They are all personal memorials but afford some exact dates.

Altogether the amount of material largely exceeds what should suffice for a double volume of the *Annual*—*i.e.* for two years. But, on careful consideration, the Committee think that the reasons for publishing the whole together and without undue delay are so strong that they feel compelled to disregard the strictly economical question, so far as subscribers are concerned, and to publish the whole as a double *Annual* for the years 1914–15.

The reasons for this course are:—

1. That the region is one which so greatly interests all Bible students.
2. That it has never previously been surveyed or systematically examined.
3. That it may never again be so thoroughly examined and reported on.
4. That the disturbed condition of all Europe makes it improbable that any work of excavation can be undertaken in the coming year.

The price of the book to the public outside the Society will be 45*s*.

An account of the *Annual* will be found on pp. 61–63.

The Committee are bringing out a new edition of the ($\frac{3}{8}$ in. to the mile) Map of Western Palestine, of which the original edition has been for some time out of print. It is in six sheets, and will be, primarily, a travellers' map. The roads and railways constructed since the original survey have been added. For the sake of clearness, only the modern names are given. The hill shading is in a lighter tint for the same reason. All the country beyond that actually surveyed is shown in outline only. In a few years it may be possible

to add much of this in a further edition. In the meantime, this is the clearest map and the easiest to consult of any yet issued by the Society. The price of the complete six sheets will be 7*s.* 6*d.* If desired, the map can be mounted on linen and a roller, or to fold. It will be ready for issue during this year.

The Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains many duplicate volumes, including standard works by Robinson, Ritter, Stanley and others. They may be had separately, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The Index to the *Quarterly Statements* previously published included the years from 1869 to 1892, and the need for its continuation to a more recent date has been greatly felt. Some of the most important of the discoveries and work of the Palestine Exploration Fund belong to later years. Such are the excavations of sites on and around Ophel, by Messrs. Bliss and Dickie, in the Shephelah, by Messrs. Bliss and Macalister, and the great work at Gezer, by Prof. Stewart Macalister, besides many valuable papers and discussions on the sites in Jerusalem and elsewhere. During the year 1911, the Committee decided to supplement the old Index by one which should include the completion of the work at Gezer, that is to say, from 1893 to 1910. The laborious task was undertaken by Mr. (now Prof.) Dickie, whose familiarity with the matter dealt with, and conscientious exactitude, have now enabled the Committee to publish it with confidence. Price in cloth, 5*s.*; unbound, 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Secretaries.

Plaster casts of the raised contour maps (large and small) of Jerusalem have been prepared and can now be had on application. The horizontal scale of the large map is $\frac{1}{250}$ and the total dimensions are 5 feet by 4 feet 3 inches. The remains of the city walls and streets

discovered on the Eastern and Western Hills are indicated in red lines. This map will be a most valuable help to the study of Jerusalem topography. Price £3 3*s*. Case and packing extra. The scale of the smaller map is $\frac{1}{10000}$ and the size 20 inches square. Price without addition of early walls and streets £1 5*s*.

A new and improved edition of the large photo relief map of Palestine (5 miles = 1 inch) is now ready. Price 6*s*. 9*d*. unmounted. Mounted on cloth, roller, and varnished, 10*s*. 6*d*. Size, mounted, 30 inches by 52 inches.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

Subscribers who have not yet paid will greatly facilitate the Committee's efforts by sending in their subscriptions early in the year, and thus save the expense of sending out reminders.

Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Assistant Secretary, they are now published annually. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1914 is given in the Annual Report published with this number.

Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, the last work of the late Major-General Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., etc. In this work the late Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund has brought together for the first time all the evidence which the most exhaustive research enabled him to collect bearing on the subject of these Holy

Sites; and probably no man living had at once so intimate a knowledge of all investigations in the modern Jerusalem and so complete an acquaintance with what has been written about the Sites from the time of Constantine onwards. The price of the work (demy 8vo) is 6*s.*, by post 6*s.* 4*d.*

A reprint of *Names and Places in the Old and New Testaments*, by the late Mr. George Armstrong, is now on sale, price 6*s.* The book was out of print for some years.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869-1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869–1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10*s.* A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

Photographs of the late Dr. Schick's models (1) of the Temple of Solomon, (2) of the Herodian Temple, (3) of the Haram Area and Justinian's Church, and (4) of the Haram Area as it is at present, have been received at the office of the Fund. The four photographs, with an explanation by Dr. Schick, can be purchased by applying to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W., is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Prof. Lewis B. Paton, Ph.D., Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 50, Forest Street, Hartford, Conn.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks, among other journals and books, the following :—

Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, Vol XXXVII, Part 1 : The Inscriptions of Carchemish, by Prof. Sayce ; etc. Part 2 : Fresh Light on the History of Esarhaddon, by Dr. Johns ; etc.

Studies : An Irish Quarterly Review of Letters, Philosophy and Science, December, 1914 : Some Aspects and Limitations of Historical Enquiry, by Prof. P. Boylan ; etc.

The Irish Theological Quarterly, January, 1915 : Pentateuchal Criticism, by Rev. Pope, O.P. ; etc.

The London Quarterly Review, January, 1915 : The Recently-discovered Zadokite Fragments, by Prof. Lightley ; The Future of Judaism, by Prof. Davison ; etc.

The Bible School : a Quarterly Magazine for all Bible Students, Vol. I, Part 1, January, 1915. A new quarterly (price 3*s.*) with which is incorporated the Bible Study League Quarterly ; edited by Rev. D. Catt, and published 74, Strand, W.C.

American Journal of Archaeology, October–December, 1914 : A Syrian Artist author of the bronze doors of St. Paul's, Rome, by A. L. Frothingham ; A Newly-discovered Inscribed Mosaic near Mt. Nebo, by W. H. Robinson, Jr.

American Journal of Philology, Vol. XXXV, 4. No. 140.

Bulletin of the American Geographical Society, Vol. XLVI, No. 11, November, 1914 : The Trend of Modern Geography, a symposium ; etc.

The Jewish Quarterly Review, January, 1915.

The Homiletic Review, January, February, 1915 : Turkey and the "Holy War," by Prof. Richard Gottheil ; etc.

The Biblical World, January, February, 1915 : Archaeology and the Book of Genesis, by Prof. L. B. Paton ; etc.

Art and Archaeology, November, 1914 : The German Excavations at Baalbek, by Prof. Paton.

Art and Archaeology, January, 1915.

Journal Asiatique, 1914 : Monuments and History of Egypt, between the end of the XIIth dynasty and the Theban restoration (*continued*), by M. R. Weill.

Sphinx : Revue Critique, 1914, Fasc. IV, V.

Revue Biblique, October, 1914: Gezer and Palestinian Archaeology, by the R. P. Vincent; The Jewish Synagogue at Delos, by M. A. Plassart; A New Edition of the Samaritan Pentateuch, by M. Tisserant; The Palestinian Littoral and its Ports, by the R. P. Abel.

See also below, pp. 95 *sqq.*

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands.

The Committee desire to acknowledge with thanks the following contribution to the Library:—

From Mrs. Ross Scott:—

Constantinople and the Seven Churches of Asia Minor, by the Rev. R. Walsh, LL.D.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Library any of the following books:—

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864); published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten.* (Leipzig, 1837.)

L. de Laborde, *Voyage de l'Arabie Petrée* (1829).

Prof. E. Huntingdon, *Palestine and its Transformation.* (Constable and Co.)

Père Abel, *Une Croisière autour de la Mer Morte* (1909).

For list of authorized lecturers and their subjects, see end of the Journal, or write to the Secretary.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

Form of Bequest to the Palestine Exploration Fund.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of _____ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

Note.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

THE WILDERNESS OF ZIN.

THE Double Number of the *Annual*, about to be published under the title *The Wilderness of Zin*, would be a work of exceptional value and interest at any time, but, at the present juncture, when public attention has been directed to Northern Sinai, only to find reliable information scarce, it should appeal to a much wider circle than ordinary. It is not only a record of the archaeological remains and history of a little known district, intimately concerned with the Bible story, but also a very faithful, discerning, and picturesque description of natural features and social character. Its two authors, Messrs. C. Leonard Woolley and T. E. Lawrence, had unusual qualifications and unusual opportunities. Mr. Woolley, who was once on the staff of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, and subsequently employed for some years on Nubian exploration, has been in charge of the British Museum's excavations at Carchemish, now interrupted by the war. To a long and intimate experience of many classes of antiquities, he adds much experience of the Near East and its life, gathered from close contact with the soil and the people. Mr. Lawrence not only has been engaged in the Carchemish work since its inception in 1911, but also has explored virtually all Syria at one time or another, living with its people almost as one of themselves. Hardly anyone knows either its Hittite or its Crusading history and remains as well as he, or can move among Arab tribesmen with as much facility and profit. Both were wintering at Carchemish when they received an invitation to join the Survey party which (very opportunely) the War Office had sent under Captain Newcombe late in 1913 to connect the Egyptian triangulation with that of the earlier Palestine Survey. This work implied the mapping of the Ottoman province of Gaza from Beersheba southward to Akaba and eastward to the Wady Araba. Though sent for in a hurry, and very short of equipment, Messrs. Woolley and Lawrence were so cordially received and helped by Captain Newcombe and his subaltern, Lieutenant Greig,

and turned their opportunity to account with so much zeal and aptitude, that they were able to explore the district to better purpose than even the best of their predecessors, Prof. Palmer or the Fathers Vincent and Jaussen, of the École Biblique.

The authors give first an account of the route covered by them in common from Gaza to Kossaima. At this point they divided, Mr. Woolley going east and north to the Byzantine towns at Abda and Kurnub, Mr. Lawrence south to Akaba. The last named spot was forbidden to the Survey party by the Ottoman Government, but Mr. Lawrence got through with some picturesque adventures, and then came up the Araba and so to Petra, Aaron's Tomb and Ma'an. Next, the history of the whole district is dealt with, the treatment giving occasion for discussion of the problems connected with supposed prehistoric remains—stone monuments, stone implements, and early pottery—and also of possible changes of climate in historic times. The authors think that few or no worked flints of any antiquity exist in Sinai, and that, with one or two rare exceptions, the stone monuments, which they classify under types, are comparatively modern. The excavation of certain graves is described. Some of these go back, probably, into the third, or even the second, Semitic Period (latter part of the second millennium B.C.). This chapter is very attractively written, with evident feeling for the qualities of desert scenery and life. On the question of climatic variations the authors are opposed to Prof. Huntington's "pulse" theory, and cite, very ingeniously, various items of evidence to support their view.

The third chapter deals with the great road from Hebron to Egypt, the Darb el-Shur, now practically unused, but once a main track of caravans and armies from the time of the Patriarchs to at least that of the Crusades. Mr. Woolley also treats here of the mounds in the northern part of the district which mark the southward tide-mark of early settled life. Pottery found upon them takes us back to the second millennium B.C. In the fourth chapter the authors treat the Kadesh-Barnea question, and incidentally give us the best account yet published of the Oasis of Guderat and the 'Ain Kadeis plain, with the districts of Muweilleh and Kossaima. This is the most controversial part of the book. Thereafter follows the longest and, archaeologically speaking, most important part of the publication, an account of the Byzantine remains of the northern part of the district and the mediaeval remains at and near Akaba.

These Byzantine towns, which owed their existence partly to the imperial policy of Justinian, partly to the attractions offered by the desert to hermits, present considerable ruin-fields at Esbeita, Abda, Khalasa, Kurnub, and half-a-dozen other sites. Two of these at least, Abda and Khalasa, must have been inhabited also in Nabatean times. On the one Mr. Woolley claims to have traced the remains of a large temple of that date under the great Monastery church; on the other was found an interesting Nabatean inscription on which Dr. A. E. Cowley writes a note. This chapter is profusely illustrated with plans and drawings of the remains, many of which appear also in the numerous photographs added as plates at the end of the volume. The Greek inscriptions, not hitherto published, are dealt with exhaustively in a sixth chapter by Mr. M. N. Tod, Reader in Greek Epigraphy at Oxford, and Prof. Margoliouth contributes a reading of a road-inscription of the Sultan, Ḳānṣuh al-Ghūr, copied by Mr. Lawrence near Akaba.

On the whole it is a volume of very varied interest, which throws light on many questions by the way. The style of the descriptive chapters is eminently readable, and the serious matter is relieved by lighter touches here and there, mostly in that vein of irony which close contact with Orientals seldom fails to encourage in the Western mind—and, perhaps, equally in the Eastern! The value of the book is enhanced by its two maps, which have been compiled from the Survey materials with the permission of the War Office. That of the interesting triangle, whose three points lie at Beersheba, Akaba, and the head of Wady Araba, is the only correct map in existence.

H.

THE ROUTE OF THE EXODUS.

By J. D. Crace, F.S.A.

Mr. Trumper's article in the *Q.S.* of January last (pp. 22–29) deserves careful attention. The subject, which deals with the question of the point at which the Israelites crossed the Red Sea, has attracted many scholars, and will probably attract many more; but the enquiry has now more facts to work from. Not the least helpful is the recent identification of Pithom with Tel el-Maskhuteh, west of Ismailyeh.[1] But the most important definite addition to our knowledge during the last half-century, bearing upon the problem, is the fact that the Red Sea certainly extended northward, within historic times, as far at least as the Bitter Lakes. This knowledge is largely due to the formation of the Suez Canal, both to the careful Surveys which it necessitated and to the sections which its construction revealed; to which must be added the publicity induced to a locality previously almost unvisited.

But I think that the sketch map which accompanies Mr. Trumper's article fails, in one important respect, to give the support to the text which it might have done. In this map the assumed extension northward from Suez is shown by the dotted line as more or less of one width. Now, writing with the excellent map before me, which was produced by the Engineers of the Canal from their own Survey, I think that this was not the case; but that from Suez to the Lakes the sea extension must have been limited in average width to approximately that of the smaller Bitter Lake, which itself would then doubtless have been wider than now.

This narrower tideway would, of course, lend itself more easily to be checked by a strong wind, and would be everyway more favourable to Mr. Trumper's suggestion. As to the actual place of

[1] See *The Egypt of the Hebrews*, by Prof. A. H. Sayce, p. 43.

crossing, I should be inclined to come rather further south on the west side, and to select a point between the two lakes, where a small peninsula of land projects north-east towards the same point on the eastern shore (No. 4), from which Mr. Trumper starts the Israelites' southern march.

There is a passage in the memoir of Antoninus Martyr which seems to bear on the general question. Describing his own journey (*circa* A.D. 560-570), he says (Cap. XLI): "and there is a small city named Clysma, whither also ships come from India. At that part of the sea where they (the Israelites) crossed over, a gulf reaches out from the main sea, and runs in for many miles, *for the tide rises and falls.* When the tide falls, all the marks of the army of Pharaoh, and even the tracks of his chariot-wheels, appear, but all the arms seem to have been turned into stone."[2]

Without paying heed to the last amazing example of credulity, we have here two definite assertions: (1) that he recognized this "gulf" as a part of the sea, *because* the tide rose and fell, inferring that it might otherwise be doubtful; (2) that, when the tide fell, the actual bottom was exposed to view at the part which was at that time pointed out as the site of crossing. It seems to me that had he here been alluding to the Gulf of Suez itself, no doubt as to its being part of the sea could have occurred to him, for it is obviously "the sea." But for the much narrower extension north of Suez it would be a more probable doubt or question. Moreover, he speaks of this gulf "reaching out from the main sea"—"at that part where they crossed over," and where the tide exposes the bottom.

With regard to the subject of "the crossing of the Red Sea," no more useful summary of published evidence and suggestions can readily be met with than the late Dr. Driver's note in the Cambridge Bible (see *The Book of Exodus*, Cambridge University Press, 1911, pp. 121–128). In this note the whole matter is very fully and fairly discussed.

As, however, I had the opportunity in December, 1868, of following the whole course of the Canal from Suez, when the southern portion was being excavated by pick and spade, and the Bitter Lakes were dry depressions in an arid desert, it may be of some use to mention here some items of personal observation at that time:—

[2] See *Palestine Pilgrims' Text*, Vol. II.

Firstly, the existence of quantities of sea-shells, often lying in ridges and unbroken, upon the former beaches of the Bitter Lakes. It is impossible to attribute these to a very remote age.

Secondly, is the important fact that where the Canal was being cut by spade, like a railway cutting, between Suez and the smaller lake, strata of salt, of various thicknesses, alternating with layers of dark earth, and sometimes of broken rock, were exposed in section. These earth-layers also varied in thickness. It is probable that some record as to these strata may be preserved in the offices of the Canal Company, for the Engineers on the spot were keenly interested.

The general outcome of this evidence is that the extension of the Gulf of Suez existed at *various periods*, and for long epochs of time; but also, that long intervals occurred during which communication with the sea was cut off.

The various levels at which the strata occur seem to preclude the idea that the interruptions were solely due to drifting sand; nor can one suppose that each of these extensions had the same northern limit. Some doubtless included Lake Timsah, but I am disposed to the opinion that, at some period within the Christian era, Lake Timsah was fed from the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, and thus acquired "crocodiles" and their name.

THE IMMOVABLE EAST.

By Philip J. Baldensperger.

(*Continued from Q.S.*, 1915, *p.* 22.)

Clothes and Fashions.

The preacher (Eccl. ix, 8) says "Let thy garments be always white," and the Arabic proverb completes this by saying "Eat what you desire, but clothe yourself as it pleases others," كل ما تشتهي نفسك والبس ما يليق الناس, *Kul mā tashtahī nafsak, wa-ilbis mā*

yalīḳ in-nās. Fashions in Palestine have changed as little as the language, in spite of all the heterogeneous elements which have swept over the country. The conquerors have always treated the natives more or less as slaves. With the exception of the Arabs, who, as a matter of fact, must not be regarded as a strange element, the invaders have hardly left a trace behind, save, perhaps, in a stray name of a village or a mountain, commemorated by some great event.[1] The Turks have now been masters of the land for nearly four centuries (since A.D. 1517), yet they have not been able to change the name of a single village; as to the toilet, they have only introduced the elegant Ottoman *ṭarbūsh*, or red cap. Foreign invaders have always excluded the natives from military service, for fear of treason. It is perhaps due to this one fact, that we can read documents, written thirty or more centuries ago, with so much precision, and identify not only actual objects and parts of clothing, but also understand manners and customs, handed down from father to son with patriotic zeal against all intruders. Nehemiah, though brought up in Babylon, fights against the foreign language (xiii, 24) and modes of living, and up to our own days European clothes are considered as a breach of the law. National dress, therefore, is and has always been, with little change, a characteristic of Palestine. Zephaniah predicts the punishment of those clothed with strange apparel (Zeph. i, 8).

The clothes vary very much according to the three principal divisions of the inhabitants. The townspeople naturally are those who have been influenced by the foreigners to the greatest extent; in every town we can trace relics of past invaders. Country-folk, on the other hand, have changed very little, perhaps only the *ṭarbūsh*. The Bedawī is altogether the same as he was when Abraham came into the land, himself in the Bedawī garb.

The Madanī wears underclothing consisting of a small chemise, *ḳamīs*, of very fine linen or cotton; drawers, *ilbās et-taḥtānī;* the trousers, *ilbās*, made of thick cloth; the waistcoat, *ez-Zilderīyet;* the flowing kaftan, *el-ḳombāz;* the girdle, *dikke* or *ḳhezam;* the jacket, *jibba* or *jubba*, pl. *jibāh;* the *ṭarbūsh;* the turban, *il-laffa*, below which is the white skull-cap, *ṭaḳīa* or *'arakīa;* a mantle, *shala* or

[1] Thus, Tabarīya, in honour of Tiberias; Kaisarīyeh, in honour of Caesar; Sinjil, for St. Giles; Khreitūn, in honour of the hermit St. Chariton; Furdais = *Pardēs*, for the gardens of Solomon and Herod.

cold, which is going out of use in towns; and shoes. Stockings are the exception. The shirt is of very thin muslin and barely covers the body below the girdle: the sleeves are wide and unbuttoned. The drawers are always made of shirting, and have the same form as the trousers, but shorter and narrower; they are tied round the body by a long cord, knotted in front. The waistcoat fits tightly and is buttoned from top to bottom by very small round cloth buttons of the same colour as the waistcoat. Trimmings ornament the front. The waistcoat pocket is on the side and opens backwards, so that it cannot be seen in front. A man who wears a watch does not put it into his waistcoat pocket, but simply sticks it into his girdle; a long ribbon is attached and prevents it from falling. Like the European waistcoat, it has no sleeves. The big trousers, worn by the upper classes, are of thick cloth and reach to the ankles. They look like a petticoat which has been sewn up at the bottom, leaving a passage for the feet. The folds round the waist are carefully arranged, one over the other, so as to look smart. Round the pockets, and at the opening for the feet, there are sometimes embroideries. The jacket is very short, reaching only as far as the waist. It has long narrow sleeves, extending to the wrists, trimmed all over the lower arm with the same ribbon as the waistcoat and pockets: often there is some trimming up to the elbows, with a row or two of black cloth ribbons; there is a wide pocket inside the jacket, which has neither buttons nor button-holes in front, only a short stiff collar ornamented also with ribbons.

A broad cotton girdle with gold embroidery is wound two or three times very carefully round the waist. It is not secured by a tie or buttons, but the end is simply tucked into the girdle itself. The girdle is the real pocket of the Madani, in which watch, tobacco-box, cigarette-case, matches and the like, are all kept. The handkerchief, which is also found amongst the upper classes, is fixed on the shoulder by one end below the jacket. It hangs over the chest but is covered by the jacket. The pockets generally contain nothing: the purse is sometimes put into the waistcoat pocket, but, more usually, into the girdle. The workmen have very much the same attire, but the drawers reach only a little way below the knees, leaving the calf of the leg entirely bare. Very thick home-made stockings are worn by the richer classes, and red shoes. This was before the introduction of black European shoes—now almost

universal—in a few progressive towns. The Moslem inhabitants of Jerusalem wear the white muslin turban on the red *ṭarbūsh*, which in other towns is worn only by the Effendi class. In Hebron they have a red and yellow turban. The coast towns favour a yellowish turban with gold embroidery, as the Damascenes. The *ṭarbūsh* is always red, but it differs in form according to the region. At Beirut, the shape is always most elegant. The top is ironed flat, with the borders away from the head, and a small silk tassel *shurrāba*, attached to the middle of the cap, hangs down lower than the border. The turban covers the tassel with its folds. In the towns of Palestine, the red African *ṭarbūsh* is not ironed, but takes the form of the head. There is a blue fleecy silk tassel below the turban. Though not so fine as the Beirut variety, this is the most popular and characteristically Arabic *ṭarbūsh*, worn by all conservatives and by the working classes. The Government employés have taken to the Turkish mode of wearing the *ṭarbūsh*, without a turban. They have even gone so far as to adopt the whole European costume with the exception of the hat. The Nablūs *ṭarbūsh*, probably of Grecian origin, is a very long cap, folded in the middle and hanging over the turban, towards the right ear. This is certainly the most ugly headdress to be seen amongst wearers of the *ṭarbūsh*. It is in use in Cyprus, Crete, and the Isles, and was probably brought here in the days of Dāher, Pasha of Akka, in the middle of the eighteenth century, when he brought Cyprians to colonize his domains.

The Christians, who formerly had to wear a dark blue (almost black) turban to distinguish them from true believers, have now mostly abandoned the turban altogether. Some are seen in the *ṭarbush* only, the rest in European style. Fashions do not trouble them very much as in European countries; though of late years, by the introduction of European ideas and comforts, changes may be observed in the outward appearance of whole communities, according to the Church to which they belong. The members of the Greek Church are the most conservative, and continue in the ways of their fathers. *Ṭarbūshes* are subject to many changes, high or low, broad or slender, and may be compared to the stove-pipe hat of the Europeans, which is continually changing slightly, till it has undergone all metamorphoses and starts again where it began. For women the modes are more difficult to follow, as they always wear the outer enveloping cloth, the *'Izār*. The colour may change with

the latest fashions of Egypt and Turkey, but the *'Izār* must always cover the whole person, so that the shoes alone are visible. In footwear, the model is the varnished Bordeaux boot, and they copy the ups and downs of the heels and forms. Christian women, excepting again members of the Greek Church, follow European modes, not, of course, as regards the hat, the stumbling block of the Oriental. The head-veil, worn by the Lebanon ladies, is very graceful, something like the Spanish headdress. It is thrown over the head and shoulders, whilst one end is brought round the face and covers the neck only, thus putting the face in a lace frame, which shows up the brown faces in their snowy white surroundings. Palestinian Moslems in the towns cover their faces completely with a thin, coloured veil. Nothing can be distinguished of the features, but the wearer can clearly see what is passing. Though the women cannot follow the changes of the modes, yet fashions interest them above anything. They admire the European toilets in their long "sittings"—the equivalent of European walks, called "Air smelling," *shem il-hawā*. This recreation consists in sitting in the streets and passing an afternoon. They watch the passers by and gnaw seeds of cucumbers, melons, and different cracknels.

The girdle is generally of Damascus manufacture, of divers colours, either striped or embroidered. As remarked above, it covers the top of the drawers and the bottom of the waistcoat. The learned stick the ink and pencase into the girdle, as was done by the Israelites (Ezek. ix, 2). They write on their hands by folding the surplus paper below the line of writing. This habit of writing with the paper held in the hand, is so strong that they write badly only when the paper is laid on a table, just as a European would were he obliged to write a letter on his hand.

In olden times the girdles were much broader than now. Early travellers mostly saw the Christians, with whom they came into closer contact. By some error, the name given to the indigenous Christians by the retreating Crusaders, *Chrétiens de la Sainte Terre*, *i.e.*, "Christians of the Holy Land," was corrupted into *Chrétiens de la Ceinture*, *i.e.*, "Christians of the Girdle." Baron l'Anglure, who visited the Holy Land in 1395, still calls them by the old French name of *Saincture* (*sic*). Bertram de la Broquière, in the next century, says *Ceinture*. The name *Nasārā*, Christians, was a mark of Moslem contempt, and the black turban and shoes distinguished them at a glance

A woven belt, *ḥamar*, which is double and can hold money for a long journey, is now very much used. Bankers are rare, and commercial men carry their money in the belt. A man may thus carry hundreds of pounds; of course he never parts with his belt on the journey, but puts it below his pillow by night. The best money belts are of *Homs* manufacture.

The Persian girdle, *zonār*, is of Greek origin (ζώνη); it is also a simple girdle with a strap by which it can be fixed with a buckle.

The *ḳombāz*, or kaftan, the long flowing robe so characteristic of Orientals, is made of cloth for the wealthy. For the *Imām*, and for those who have no work and who like much liberty of movement, it is of fine white linen. The working classes possess and use them for journeys or feast days. For ordinary days they wear coloured stuff, formerly made in Syria, now imported from Europe.

The highest classes have a valuable overcoat, usually of the same coloured cloth as their costume, lined with fur imported from Russia. The *farwa*, or *farwa*, a fur-lined overcoat, reaches down to the ankles.

It may safely be said that the Madanī, whom we followed in his house, food, furniture, and manner of living, is much the same as the Israelite of old, but in the matter of clothing he has completely changed, following, as in Nehemiah's and Zephaniah's days, the hated "strange apparel." He is now again metamorphosing himself into half Turkish, half European style.

The style of clothing worn by the Madanī is partly Greek, partly Persian, and, to some extent, also Arabian. The last-named style was introduced during the flourishing Khalifates, both under the Omeyyads in Damascus, as well as under the Abbasids in Bagdad. Omar, on arriving from Arabia, clad in his *ṯhōb*, and with a *farwa* of goats' hair on his shoulders, was indignant when he saw how rapidly the soldiers and their leaders, abandoning their simple Bedawī clothes, appeared in beautiful silk kaftans which they had taken from the Greeks in and around Damascus. As a punishment he ordered all those who had changed their attire to be dragged on the ground, face downwards, till the fine clothes were completely torn. This stopped the custom for some time, at least among the common people. But in the towns, and especially in the neighbourhood of the Governors, who no longer lived in their primitive simplicity, more showy clothes readily came into vogue. White, for the Omeyyads, became the favourite in Damascus, always the centre of Syrian Islām, and black for the Abbasids, in Bagdad. These

colours were adopted as the standards of the different factions; the original yellow standard of Islām was put away and remained ignored for many centuries. The green standard of the Hassanids, or Fatimids, for some time known in Egypt, was replaced, as we hear of Salāh ed-Dīn appearing in yellow and with the yellow standard of the glorious days of Islām.

(*To be continued.*)

THE ELEPHANTINE PAPYRI AS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

By Joseph Offord.

One of the most wonderful achievements of modern research during the last half-century has been the exploration for, and recovery of, many thousands of ancient manuscripts—mostly papyri—from the sands of Egypt. Although they are always fragmentary, and frequently partly illegible for their decipherment, portions of many of the works of lost classic authors have been restored, and the whole domestic life and polity of Graeco-Roman and Byzantine Egypt has been revealed to us.

Throughout all the period in which papyri have been pouring into the museums of Europe and Egypt, Hebrew scholars have always hoped that, in addition to Egyptian, Greek, and Latin documents and books, some Hebrew ones might come to light. As students are aware, for many centuries there were numerous Jews in Egypt, and from time to time pieces of Aramaic-Hebrew writing have appeared, either upon papyri or pottery-fragments, and in a few cases these pieces were of sufficient size to be readable.

During the last ten years this hope of Semitic scholars has been amply fulfilled by the finding of a whole series of Aramaic records concerning Jewish residents in Egypt, and even in some cases referring to their compatriots in neighbouring Palestine. These discoveries, in one sense among the most important ever made in Egypt, because of the light which they throw upon the Old Testa-

ment, both as literature and history, and upon the career of the Hebrew race, have been seldom noticed in the British press, and yet the story of their finding and publication, it is hoped, will prove of much interest to us.

Passing over the minor sporadically found fragments which have been brought to light from time to time in the last half-century, the new and more prolific discoveries may well be divided into two series: a batch of some forty manuscripts acquired by various visitors and explorers in Egypt in the years 1901–1904, and another collection secured by the Germans in 1907. These two sets of documents were all found upon, or near to, the island of Elephantine at Aswān, thus proving the existence, at some period, of a Jewish community there. This is a historical fact of such interest that it will be well to pause for a few minutes to ascertain if this deduction from the evidences is correct.

The result of an impartial study of the new historical and theological material provided by these Aramaic papyri will prove that they so freshly illuminate the later Old Testament references concerning Jewish colonies in Egypt that only now, for the first time, can we appreciate the true import of their allusions.

The great temptation of the Jews, subsequent to their occupation of Palestine, under which they only too frequently fell, was to become polytheists, and worship, in addition to or even to the neglect of Jehovah, the local Syrian deities, whose cults were frequently of a most immoral nature. This crime had to be eliminated before the Jews became a people who, by their absolute allegiance to the one True God, could be the cradle for Christianity, the veritable monotheism adaptable for all humanity. The continued efforts of the Torah and the Prophets, the gradual destruction of the native pagans of Palestine, and the calamities and judgments which fell upon the Jews who practised or even connived at polytheism, at length purged away the taint from those living in Judaea. But for those Hebrews who went to reside in Egypt the temptation to fall back into the evil courses was wellnigh overwhelming: in many cases they inevitably succumbed. For this the Old Testament had naught but condemnation, both for the relapse into idolatry and for the error of living in Egypt at all, because of the moral danger arising thereby.

The Elephantine manuscripts not only confirm all the Biblical references to these matters, but enable us to assign to these allusions,

in a manner that was hitherto impossible, their full import and significance, which had been much under-estimated.

In these newly found papyri, every document which sets forth the site to which its contents refer mentions either one or two fortresses, *S-w-n* or *Y-b* (*Yeb*). The first of these is, undoubtedly, the old Egyptian name of the Aswān, or Assouan of to-day, and under practically the same name as in the papyri it is several times mentioned in the Old Testament. Therein it is called Swene, or Swane, and in two instances the references to it show that it was a frontier post. Thus Ezekiel writes[1]: "I will make the land of Egypt desolate from Migdol to Swene, even unto the border of Cush."

The phrase "Migdol to Swene" was similar to saying from John O'Groats to Lands End; for the Migdol intended here was the most northerly, or north-eastern, fort in the Delta, upon the Syrian frontier, near to Pelusium, Migdol[2] being a Semitic word for a watch-tower adopted by the Egyptians; whilst Swene was the southern frontier fortress upon the Soudan boundary.[3]

Ezekiel knew that his Hebrew readers would clearly comprehend the all-embracing geographical term included within the most northern and most southern sites in which their countrymen dwelt in Egypt. Like our Princes of Wales in the Plantagenet period, in the West, the Crown Princes of Egypt, when they came of age, had to command the garrison upon the Ethiopian frontier, and upon assuming that office the title "Royal Son of Cush" was conferred upon them. Consequently, Ezekiel, when adding to the word Swene the descriptive comment that it was upon the Cush frontier, shows his accurate acquaintance with Egyptian topography of his age.

Yeb, a word meaning "Elephant," was the Egyptian name for Elephantine: hence the town and its district were called Elephantine by the Greeks.[4]

[1] Ezekiel xxix, 10. The LXX has ἀπὸ Μαγδωλοῦ καὶ Συήνης καὶ ἕως ὁρίων Αἰθιόπων.

[2] This of course is not the Migdol, near to Baal Zephon, mentioned in the Exodus story, which was a fort on the southern part of the Isthmus of Suez.

[3] Compare also Ezekiel xxx, 6. The margin of the R.V. rightly indicates that we should read: "from Migdol to Syene shall they fall in it by the sword."

[4] Prof. Newberry has found the elephant depicted as a Nome—or district—tribal Totem for one of the districts of ancient Egypt, doubtless for that of Elephantine.

The Aramaic papyri call both places a *birtu*, or castle, a word translated, rather imperfectly, "palace" in Esther and Ezra, books composed at about the same date as these newly-found manuscripts.[1]

One of the places, therefore, was a fortified residence, or cantonment, commanding the Nile shore road, and the other served to guard the passage by water from Cush into Egypt. Another Old Testament corroboration of the identity of the Yeb of these papyri with the island of Elephantine, and confirmatory of their statement that at this site there was a shrine to the God of Israel, is a passage in Isaiah xix, 19: "In that day there shall be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof." We know there was an altar to Jehovah at Tahpanhes, but there probably was one at Memphis, for Hosea at his early date, about 785 B.C., speaks clearly of a permanent Jewish colony at Memphis.[2] In another passage Hosea seems specially to associate Ephraimites with these residents in Egypt, a matter which, as we shall see, is of much interest.[3] Isaiah also tells us that in five cities of the land of Egypt the language of Canaan would be spoken, and that they would swear by the "Lord of Hosts," apparently meaning that Jehovah-worship would be held in them.[4] The statement as to the altar of the Lord was clear, therefore, but the real meaning of Isaiah's phrase "a pillar upon the border thereof" remained incomprehensible until the papyri were read, for in the chief of these documents, special weight is laid upon the pillars in Jehovah's house which the Jews had erected at Yeb, or Swene.[5]

[1] *Birta* appears in a Nabatean inscription of a temple to Baal, in 40 B.C., as meaning the interior of the shrine בעשמין בירתא גויתא. The Hebrew בירה is a word only used after the Exile, so possibly from Assyrian, *birtu*.

[2] Hosea ix, 6. "For they are gone away from destruction" (*i.e.*, from the Assyrians) "yet Egypt shall gather them up. Memphis (מנפי in the papyri) shall bury them." The word used for altar in the papyri, אגורא, is correct for a temple (not for a synagogue). It is the Assyrian *Ekurru*.

[3] Hosea ix, 3, "But Ephraim shall return to Egypt."

[4] Isaiah xix, 18. The prophet says one shall be called the City of Heres (or of destruction), or of the Sun. It was upon the strength of this prediction, reading the text in the last sense, that Onias, son of Onias the high priest, appealed to Ptolemy Philometer, for permission to erect a Jehovah temple in the prefecture of Heliopolis (City of the Sun) and obtained his consent. *See* Josephus, *Antiquities*, XIII, iii, 1.

[5] Isaiah xlix, 12, is apparently a reference to Swene, or Syene, Sinim being almost certainly a textual corruption of one of these words.

The new papyri therefore concern Jewish colonists at Elephantine. This need cause no surpise: it is substantiated by other evidence both Biblical and classical. Thus we are informed in the Book of Kings that Pharaoh Necho took away Jehoahaz, and deported him to Egypt where he died.[1] Aristeas, in his pamphlet relating the circumstances of the Septuagint translation, says Necho's son Psammeticus was the Pharaoh in whose time the first Hebrew colony was established in Egypt.[2] Quite recently this statement has been substantiated by the great Peteesi Papyrus, at Manchester, which mentions a hitherto unrecorded campaign of Psammeticus in Palestine, and of his engaging Jewish soldiers for a war against Cush.[3]

That Jews had travelled south from Elephantine into Ethiopia, or Cush, is quite in agreement with the Old Testament. Zephaniah writes: "From beyond the rivers of Ethiopia (Cush) my suppliants, even the daughters of my dispersed, shall bring mine offering." Moreover, as Professor Sayce has pointed out, some Hebrews had ascended the Nile, even beyond the site of its junction with its Ethiopian tributaries, and provided Isaiah with a knowledge of the *sudd* region.[4] This enabled him to describe so accurately its unique features. He writes of "the land beyond the rivers of Cush," that is to say, still further south than their junction with the Nile of its Ethiopian eastern tributaries—the Atbara, the Blue Nile, and the Sobat—as the "land of resounding wings that sends Ambassadors on the sea (the great overflowing White Nile) in vessels made of papyrus reeds upon the waters. Go, ye swift messengers, to a nation, tall and hairless, a people savage from their beginning hitherto, a nation of slaves whose lands the streams divide."[5] He

[1] 1 Kings xxiii, 34; 2 Chron. xxxvi, 4; Ezek. xix, 4.

[2] The genuineness of Aristeas's work is confirmed by his use of certain words, such as *ταγμάτος*, only to be found in contemporary Ptolemaic-Greek papyri. "The Letter of Aristeas," H. St. John Thackeray, p. 8.

[3] Zephaniah iii, 10. Zephaniah (ii, 12) mentions the Ethiopians being slain by the sword, perhaps in some attack upon, or sortie from, Elephantine. Deuteronomy xvii, 16, may mean that Jewish kings were in the habit of sending their subjects to serve as soldiers in Egypt in return for droves of horses provided by the Pharaoh. If so, Hebrew mercenaries were employed before Psammeticus' reign. Psammeticus II has recorded an Ethiopian war at Karnak.

[4] Isaiah xviii, 1, 2.

[5] See also Ezekiel xxx, 9: "In that day shall messengers go forth in ships to make the Ethiopians afraid."

thus sets forth precisely the swarms of insects, the smooth-skinned negroes—among the tallest of the human race—and the teeming aquatic vegetation, impassable except by narrow canals, like the lanes of water now well known to travellers.[1]

As with all discoveries of previously lost historical events concerning nations contiguous to Palestine, we find the fact that numerous sites were inhabited by Jews in Egyptian territory quite in agreement with the Old Testament. Isaiah (xix, 18) speaks of five cities in the country as having citizens speaking Hebrew; Jeremiah specifies four of the places therein inhabited by Jews, three of them cities.[2]

Two of these, Migdol and Tahpanhes, were in the north, Noph—Memphis is in Middle Egypt, whilst Pathros is Southern Egypt. This Pathros is the Patures of Greek authors, the Ptores of later Egyptian writers. Further, it is the Paturisi of the inscriptions of Esarhaddon who divided his Egyptian suzerainty into three portions, Muṣri, or Central and Northern Egypt; Paturisi, the country from Thebes to Assouan; and Kusi, or Cush, the Ethiopia, or Sudan, of later geographers.[3] The Assyrian thus uses the same words as Isaiah, who, at this era, speaks of the tripartite territory of Egypt, as Misr, Pathros, and Cush, and of Jews being resident in all the three.

It is now certain that the early dynasties of Egypt came down the Nile from the South, bringing their culture with them, and that they settled first above and about Thebes, in Pathros. This was Ezekiel's view of their history, or that of the inspirer of his prophecy, for, in speaking of God's restoring the scattered Egyptians to their home, he says (xxix, 14): "I will bring (back) again the Egyptian captives and will cause them to return to Pathros, the land of their birth" (or origin).

[1] Prof. A. H. Sayce (*Proc. Soc. of Biblical Archaeology*, 1914, pp. 179, 180), in an article upon "The Origin of the Meroitic Alphabet," which he partly ascribes to the Aramaic script introduced into Ethiopia by Jews.

[2] Jeremiah xliv, 1: "The word came to Jeremiah concerning all the Jews that dwell in the land of Egypt, at Migdol, at Tahpanhes, at Noph, and in the country of Pathros." Hosea (ix, 6) asserts the presence of Jews at Noph. The fifth site intended by Isaiah has not been definitely located, but in 1913 a Greek inscription was found near Alexandria concerning a synagogue at Xenephyris in the Delta, which may be the fifth city of the prophet. An inscription in the Alexandria Museum speaks of a synagogue at Schedia.

[3] Isaiah xi, 11. "The Lord shall recover the remnant of His people from Assyria, Egypt, Pathros, and Cush."

It has been mentioned that in some of the papyri there are evidences of these Jews worshipping other deities together with Yahu. In the first found batch of documents, several of them concern a lady whose father swears by Yahu, but who herself takes an oath by Satis who was the goddess of the cataracts. Also a roll of papyrus is sealed by a signet bearing the name of Amen Ra. These, however, are exceptional cases. But the manuscripts, edited by Dr. Sachau, in some instances go much further. We find Jews therein speaking of a goddess Anat-Bethel and another deity Ism (or Ashima)-Bethel. Mention is even made of some pillar or cult stele (Mesgid Stele); in honour of both Anat and Yahu.[1]

There is also a record of a vow being taken before a god entitled Haram-Bethel. This was, however, done by one Malkiah, son of Joshibah who is expressly said to be an Aramean.[2] This may also be merely a deification of the Haram, the temple, or altar enclosure of the Hebrews at Yeb, the word Bethel being used as indicative of the House of God within the "temple" of Yahu.

M. René Dussaud, discussing some of Sachau's readings, finds a reference to a certain Hosea, son of Baal Gaddai.[3] This is not perhaps more remarkable than that one of David's warriors should have been called Bealiah, *i.e.*, "Baal is Lord."

There was a chapel or shrine for Anat-Bethel. It is to be remembered that Manasseh had erected altars to another deity even in the court of Jehovah's house at Jerusalem.—2 Kings xxiii, 12.

[2] Bethel is used evidently as a deity's title in several proper names in the papyri, such as Bethel-Nathan son of a Jonathan, Bethel-Akab, and Bethel-shezib. These two last names may be those given to Jews when captives in Assyria: they have a sort of "Mesopotamian" appearance.

[3] Although Gad does not appear to have been adored by these Elephantine Jews, there is reason to think that a deity of that name was not unknown to the Hebrews in Palestine, and the name of Gaddai confirms this, if it meant "Gift of Gad." So also Gaddiel, the Zebulunite (Numbers xiii, 10), may have been Hebrew only through his mother, her husband being Sodi (? "an acquaintance"); but his theophorous name "God's 'fortune' or 'Gad'" connects with Gad, the god or genius of (good) "fortune" of the non-Hebrew Palestine, and Syrio-Arabian people. Gadiou is a Nabatean personal name: that it is theophorous is proved by a Nabatean inscription at Kanathea reading "Badr and Sa'd'el, son of Withro, loving the Gad, salutation." As Gad, "fortune," parallel with the Greek Tyche, Gad was the god of other Arab tribes bordering on Judaea. The Awidh clan had their Gad Awidh. M. René Dussaud gives an inscription reading "O Gad Awidh hail to thee," and "Badr loving the Gad, salutation." Jacob of Serug, too, speaks of an Arabian deity Gad-Lat, really Gad Allat, Allat=Fortune. *See* R. Dussaud, *Les Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam.*

Now is this polytheism, on the part of the Jews and Samaritans at this period, novel and contradictory to Scripture, or not? It is evident, that until we were able to peruse these new papyri, sufficient importance had not usually been attached to what Old Testament writers stated upon the subject. The Jews themselves, and not merely the Samaritans, worshipped a deity called Bethel as well as Jehovah, and did so in Palestine, for Jeremiah tells us that when in their better senses "the house of Israel was ashamed of Bethel their confidence" (Jeremiah xlviii, 13). The heresy, however, appears to have commenced in Samaria, at Bethel, a place close to Beth Aven (Joshua vii, 2), and it was mixed up with Calf-worship, a relic of the Apis and Mnevis cult of Egypt.[1] This is clear from the words of Hosea to the people of Bethel: "thy calf has cast thee off" (viii, 5). He also adds the threat: "the children of Samaria shall fear because of the calves of Beth Aven" (x, 5). Moreover, the altar of Bethel which Jeroboam erected, when he thus caused the Israelites to sin, was for sacrifices to Bethel, and not to Jehovah, and so Josiah very properly destroyed it (2 Kings xxiii, 15). That it was linked with animal cult is plain, because we are further informed that "Jeroboam placed a golden calf at Bethel," actually boasting "this was the deity who brought Israel out of the land of Egypt."[2]

[1] See Tobit i, 5. (The revolted tribes and the house of Napthali my father, sacrificed to the heifer Baal.) Napthali was near Dan. Dr. Peiser reads Bethel in Zechariah vii, 2, ביתאלשראצר. It is noteworthy that none of the Hebrew names at Elephantine are compounds of El (אל), but nearly all of יה. It looks as though the fact that El was used at Babylon for God, made them chary of using it. One personal name, El-nuri, occurs, but it seems to be more Babylonian than Hebrew.

[2] 1 Kings xii, 28; 2 Kings x, 29. "The calves" which were in Bethel and Dan. The coincidences connecting the Jews at Yeb with North Palestine rather than with Judah are cumulatively very convincing. For instance, the word used in the papyrus for an idolatrous priest is the same as that employed by Hosea x, 5, when speaking of the unorthodox ones at Beth Aven, near Bethel -Chemarim (? "Black robed"). It is also used by Zephaniah i, 4, and 2 Kings xxii, 5. The petition of the Hebrews of Yeb says that they applied to the sons of Sanballat, governor of Samaria. The reply came from Bagohi and *Delaiah*—Sanballat's son. This shows that the Jewish Yeb garrison had intimate relations with Samaria. As, at the Palestine Beth Aven, the Apis solar calf worship of On, or Egyptian Heliopolis, was evidently carried on, Aven may have been purposely the name adopted for the Jewish idolatrous shrine because it was one title of Heliopolis among Semites. Ezekiel (xxx, 17) calls Heliopolis Aven, and that he was correct in so doing is evident from Amos i, 5, where the prophet speaks of the daughter city of On—the Syrian Heliopolis,

The very precise manner in which the papyri agree with the historical statements of the prophetical books is aptly illustrated by the fact that Bethel, whose heretical worship was transferred to Yeb, was situated in Ephraim, and Hosea specially alludes to the Ephraimites settling in Egypt (ix. 3). This fact may account for the revering of Bethel we find so patently in the papyri.

The abhorrence of the true Jehovah worshippers for the idolatry at Bethel appears frequently in Amos, especially where its devotees were Jews: "in the day (when) I shall visit the Israelite transgressors,[1] I will visit Bethel's altars, and their horns shall be cut off and fall to the ground."[2]

The hierophant of the god Bethel, Amaziah, was not, it would appear, a legitimate priest according to Hebrew regulations, as certainly his cult was not authorized worship;[3] for Amos asserts, apparently of him "I see no Nabhi, nor Ben Nabhi," *i.e.*, no prophet or disciple of a (true) prophet.[4]

---

i.e., Baalbek, whose deity (according to Macrobius) was installed by Egyptian priests—and in recognition of this origin calls it also Aven. The kings of Judah were even mixed up with Heliopolitan, or Beth-Shemesh cults, for they kept horses and cult-chariots of the Sun-god just outside the temple. 2 Kings xxiii, 11.

[1] Amos iii, 14. The Jews, according to Amos v, 26, appear to have adored two Assyrian deities: Sikkut, the Assyrian Sakkat, a name of Adar: and Kaiwan, the Assyrian for Saturn. The verse probably should read: "You have carried Sikkut your Meleeh, and Kaiwan your Salm"; several Arabian deities were called Salm—*salm* in Semitic means idol. In a tablet of the Babylonian Surpu incantations, Sakkut and Kaiwan are coupled together. The LXX reads Raiphan for Kaiwan, but this is merely a misreading.

[2] Compare the "Horns of Consecration" of Crete, especially a gem showing them above an altar: R. Dussaud, *Les Civilisations Préhelléniques*, p. 345 fig. 252. This would appear as though they were altars of Astarte Karnaim, the crescent Venus, queen of heaven.

[3] See also Amos iv, 4 ("come to Bethel and transgress"); v, 5 ("Seek not Bethel, it [? he] shall come to naught"); and vii, 14: note, however, that the name of Amaziah signifies "Great is Jehovah."

[4] Jastrow, *American Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1909.

(*To be concluded.*)

A CISTERN WITH CUFIC GRAFFITI NEAR JERUSALEM.

Report by R. A. Stewart Macalister, M.A., F.S.A.

[* Rubbings and squeezes are forwarded of all except the inscriptions thus marked.]

At the head of the Kedron Valley, close to its intersection with the Wâdy el-Jôz, there is an old broken cistern in the middle of a ploughed field. In the course of an afternoon walk in this direction I happened to enter this cistern, and found the walls covered with graffiti in Cufic letters, cut upon the plaster.

The cistern consists of two chambers, the outer 31 ft. 2 in. in length, 12 ft. 6 in. in breadth, with, at the end, a more or less circular portion about 21-22 ft. in diameter, containing the entrance shaft. The latter has fallen in, and is choked up with *débris*, so that entrance is easy. The second chamber, which is beside the first, is 29 ft. long, 9 ft. 4 in. across. The long axes of the two chambers are approximately parallel. The partition wall between the chambers is 8 ft. 7 in. thick, and the opening connecting them 10 ft. 9 in. across. The deep accumulation of *débris* washed into the outer chamber gives it a fictitious appearance of being much shallower than the inner. There is an independent bucket-shaft to the second chamber.

The plaster with which the walls are covered, now fragmentary, contains a considerable number of Roman potsherds in its composition. This gives a major limit of date for the cistern, at least in its present state. The plastering may of course have been renewed from time to time. The majority of the inscriptions are cut in the plaster of the outer chamber; there are four in the inner chamber. The latter are so high above the present surface of the ground that, in the absence of a ladder, I was obliged to have a platform of loose stones built, nearly five feet in height, in order that I might be able to reach them to make the necessary squeeze.

The inscriptions do not differ in character from the usual style of Cufic graffiti, being all pious ejaculations, like those in the caves at Beit Jibrin. Their sentiments do not seem to have pleased every visitor to the cave, for some in the outer chamber are broken and battered with obvious intention, and one of those in the inner chamber has been most carefully erased, leaving nothing but illegible outlines of letters. The following is a list of the inscriptions, beginning at the south end of the eastern side of the outer chamber and proceeding round the walls [the direction of the long axis of the chambers is regarded as roughly north and south]:—

*I. Remains of an inscription in bold letters; the tips only of four upright strokes are left, the rest being lost by a fracture of the plaster. Most probably the reading was الله ("God").

II. Roughly scratched inscription in two lines.

*III. On a small fragment of plaster: الله.

IV. A series of rude marks, apparently commencing . . . . لله. Unintelligible.

V. Below the last, a roughly cut graffito, possibly intended for three human figures. [But see Dr. van Berchem's note below.]

VI. Inscription in four lines of minute writing.

VII. Below VI.

VIII. To the left of VII.

IX. Inscription in four lines (each line occupied by one word) enclosed in a cartouche with tags around it. Below VII and VIII.

X. Inscription in seven lines below IX and to the right of it.

XI. Inscription in five lines (each line one word) beside X and to the left of it.

XII. Short inscription on a level with VI and just left of it.

XIII. An inscription much broken and battered (apparently intentionally) on a level with IX and just left of it.

XIV. A deeply cut inscription on a level with XI, and just left of it.

Above the level of XII a square has been marked out as though for an inscription, 1 ft. 1 in. high and 1 ft. 5 in. across, in plain lines. There are no tags as are to be seen in the two other examples of inscriptions inside cartouches. The top right-hand corner is

broken by a fracture in the plaster. There is no trace of lettering inside.

XV. Above the following inscription, a peculiar heart-shaped device. The design or writing inside it, if any existed, has gone with a [perhaps intentionally inflicted] injury to the plaster.

XVI. Under the square described above, an inscription in two and a half long lines, just left of XIII. The ends of the lines are choked with a calcareous deposit washed from the plaster.

*XVII. Above XVI, الله in rounded and apparently late characters.

XVIII. Under the right-hand half of XVI, an inscription in three lines of rather rounded script.

XIX. Under the left-hand half of XVI, an inscription in four short lines.

XX. Fragmentary inscription underneath XIX in three short lines.

XXI. Short inscription, much clogged with lime deposit, to the left of the square described above between XIV and XV.

XXII. In the corner between the east and north walls, a long inscription extremely difficult to decipher on account of the lime deposit, which fills the lettering, especially at the left-hand end.

XXIII. Under the extreme left-hand end of the lines of XXII an inscription in two lines, but so clogged with lime that satisfactory rubbings, squeezes, or copies cannot be taken.

XXIV. Under XXIII an inscription in five lines (each one word), above which is لا, apparently the commencement of an unfinished الله.

The following are on the north wall :—

XXV. An inscription consisting of one word only.

XXVI. A long and much battered inscription, almost impossible to see (much more so to copy) on account of the light colour of the plaster at this place and the want of contrast between it and the incised lines.

XXVII. An inscription in minute letters under the right-hand end of XXVI.

*XXVIII. Just above the left-hand end of XXVI an inscription in two lines: the first is الله, the second is broken and illegible.

*XXIX. In the corner between the northern and western wall: الله.

The following are on the west wall:—

A long cartouche (1 ft. 11 in. in height, 11 in. across) with a tag at the top, apparently prepared for an inscription never filled in. The surface of the space enclosed has been battered, seemingly with intention.

XXX. Beside this, a much battered inscription in five lines.

XXXI. Above XXX, and to the left of it are الله ("God") and ابرهيم ("Abraham"), in rounded script.

XXXII. Inscription in three lines under the left-hand end of the name of "Abraham."

XXXIII. Inscription in long narrow lines underneath the last.

XXXIV. Inscription in a square having a tag at the top. This has been wilfully battered, and deep holes broken in the middle of it make the inscription illegible.

XXXV. Inscription in three boldly cut lines underneath the preceding.

XXXVI. Scratches and scribbles underneath the above.

XXXVII. Commencement of an inscription in three bold lines, the remainder being lost by a gap in the plaster 3 ft. long.

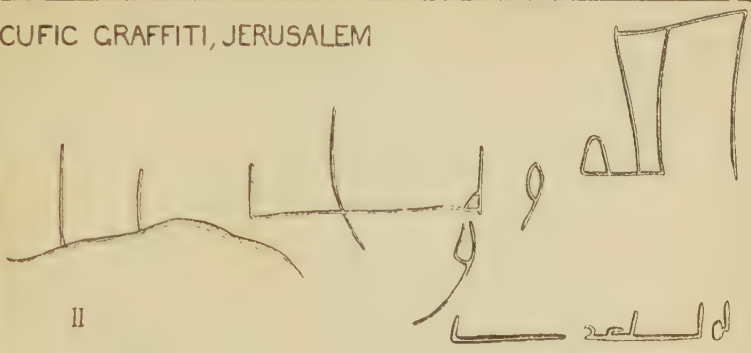
XXXVIII–XL. Three inscriptions on a fragment of plaster near the south end of the wall.

XLI–XLV are in the inner chamber, on the western wall: they are at a considerable height from the floor, and must all have been cut with the help of a ladder or scaffold. *XLIII, which was in six lines, has been intentionally defaced, and is quite illegible.

Owing to the difficulty of getting at the inscriptions in the inner chamber, I have been unable to make rubbings, but send squeezes.

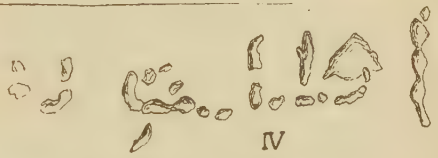
[*To face p.* 84.

CUFIC GRAFFITI, JERUSALEM

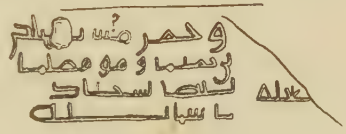


II

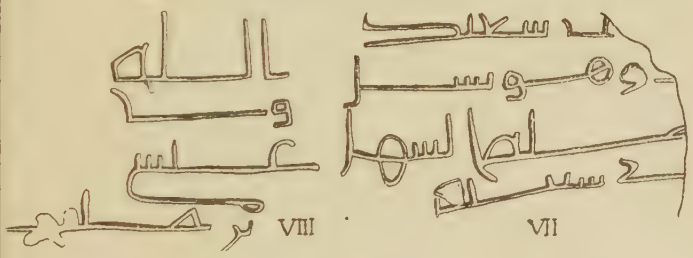
V



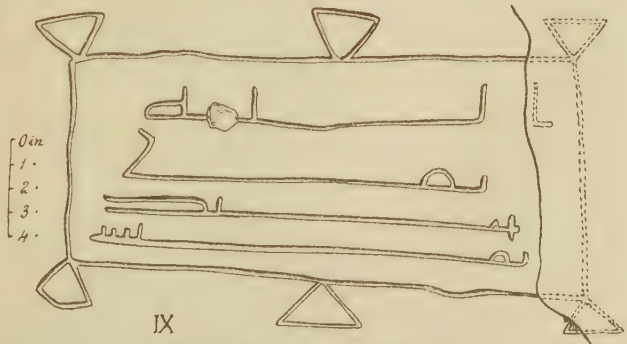
IV



VI

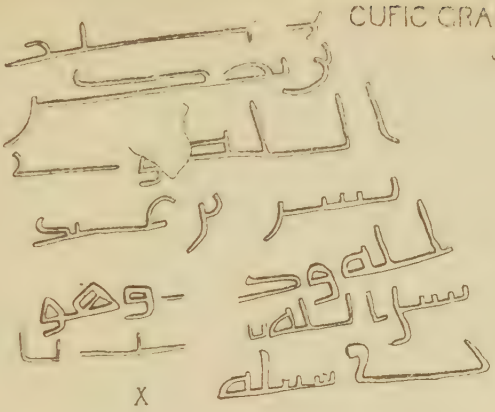


VIII VII

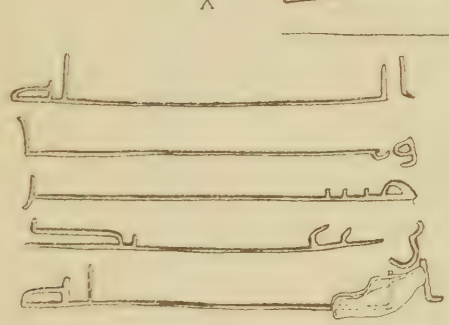


IX

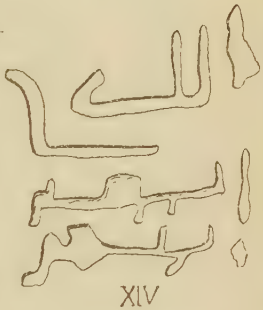
CUFIC GRAFFITI
JERUSALEM



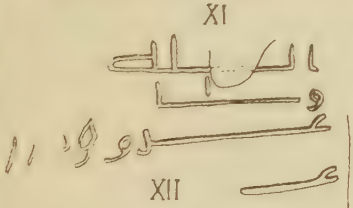
X



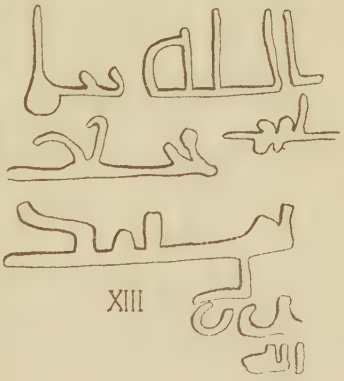
XI



XIV



XII



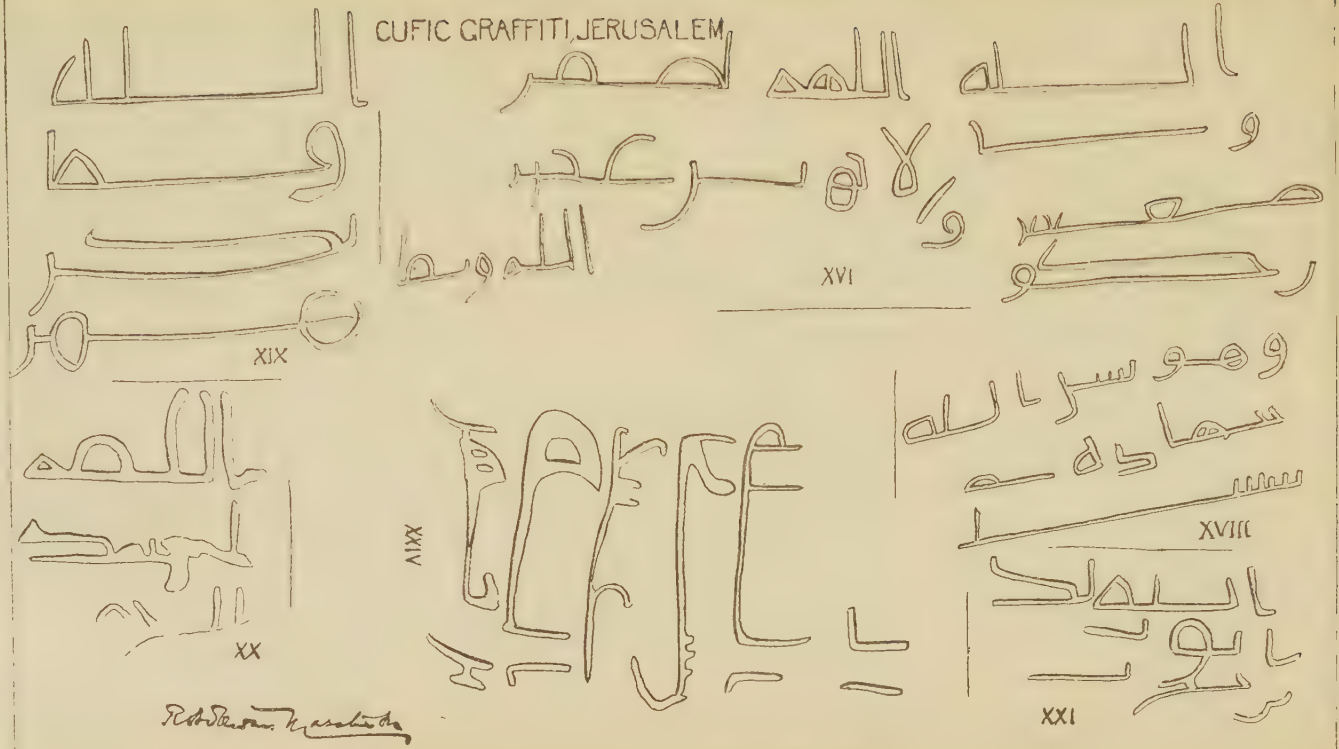
XIII

XV

0 1 2 3 4

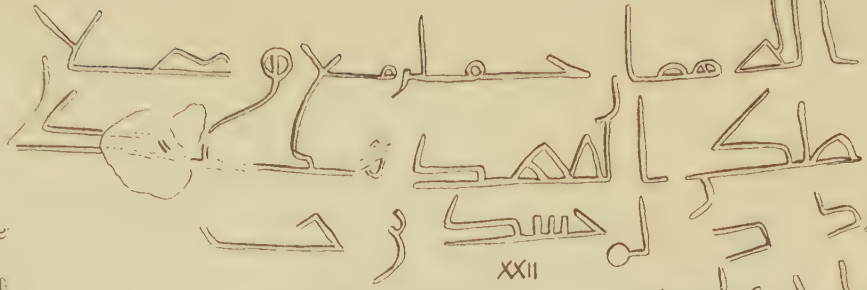
R. A. Stewart Macalister
January 1902

CUFIC GRAFFITI, JERUSALEM.

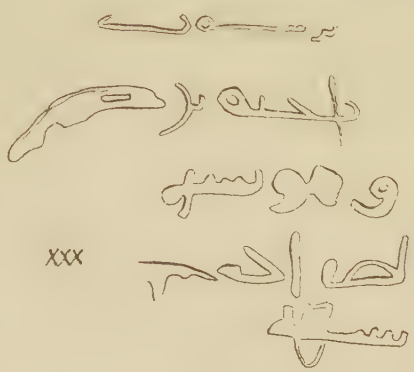


CUFIC GRAFFITI, JERUSALEM

XXV

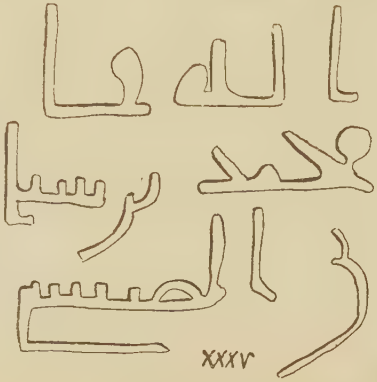


XXII



XXX

XXXI



XXXV

NOTE ON THE GRAFFITI OF THE CISTERN AT WADY EL-JOZ.

By Dr. Max van Berchem.

Prof. R. A. S. Macalister's report, and the documents which accompanied it, were sent by the Committee in the first instance to M. Clermont-Ganneau, who entrusted them to me some years ago, with a view to the decipherment of the graffiti. I recently had occasion to examine them when classifying the materials, gathered at Jerusalem for the *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, and here give the results of that study.

The documents comprise a series of facsimiles (squeezes and rubbings), and four sheets of pen-drawings. The facsimiles are too numerous, and for the most part too indistinct, to be reproduced here. It will be sufficient to publish the drawings, which are conscientious copies from the facsimiles or, in some cases (marked * in the report), from the original inscriptions. The graffiti are not all represented in the drawings; there are others of which the facsimiles are too indistinct to be drawn; but those which are here reproduced suffice to give an idea of the characters. In spite of the care taken in their execution these drawings include a few errors, attributable to the bad condition of graffiti. My readings are founded on both facsimiles and drawings; and where these differ at all, I have preferred to follow the indications of the former. I have not myself seen the original graffiti; but when I last visited Jerusalem (April and May, 1914) Prof. Dalman sent me a brief description of the cistern, with a copy of Nos. VII, VIII, and XXV, which I have compared with Prof. Macalister's documents.

II. Perhaps [proper name] و [proper name] ولي الله, "*Allāh is the friend of . . . .*"; the proper names are legible neither in the facsimile nor in the drawing. Below, to the right, one can still read the words ولي الله, in another writing, and forming the beginning of the new inscription.

IV. After the word الله, the facsimiles show certain undefined characters.

V. This graffito is turned the left side down, which gives the appearance of a rude design representing standing figures; on turning it to a horizontal position one can trace some characters defaced and illegible.

VI. وحمزة (?) بن حميد (?) وهو يسأ)ل الله الشهادة [a word] في سبيله "*. . . and Hamza . . . son of Hamid, and he prays Allāh to grant him the shahāda for His sake.*" The proper names are doubtful, even in the facsimiles, but the form of the *shahāda* is certain; I will explain this presently.

VII. الله ولىّ سعيد وهو يسأ)ل الله الشهادة فى سبيله, "*Allāh is the friend of Sa'īd, and he begs of Allāh the shahāda for His sake*" (*for the love of God*). The first word and some of the other letters, which are not shown in the drawing, can be clearly read in squeeze.

VIII. الله ولىّ عيسى ابن ملح, "*Allāh is the friend of 'Isā, son of Malīh.*" The Alif of the word ابن can be clearly seen in the facsimile, and in Dalman's copy.

IX. [Proper name] حميد [بـ]ن (?) الله ولىّ, "*Allāh is the friend of Hamīd, son of . . .*" In the facsimile, the paternal name does not look the same as in the drawing: I cannot read it.

X. حميد (?) بن بكر . الله ولىّ بشر بن عبد[ا]لله وكـ[تب] وهو يسأ)ل الله الشهادة فى سبيله, "*Hamīd, son of Bakr. Allāh is the friend of Bishr, son of 'Abdallāh, and he has written* (?) *and he begs Allāh to grant him the shahāda for His sake.*"

XI. الله ولىّ مسمار[?] بن عبيدالله, "*Allāh is the friend of Mismār* (?), *son of 'Ubaidallāh.*" On the facsimiles, the first name seems to be written مسمار; perhaps [عُ]سا[وِر], or سا for عوسى.

XII. [Proper name] بن (?) الله ولىّ عمرو, "*Allāh is the friend of 'Amr, son of . . .*"

XIII. Except the first word الله, "Allāh," the reading is quite uncertain; the letters are much defaced and apparently clogged with lime or corroded by saltpetre.

XIV. (?) الله ولىّ أحمد بن الحسن, "*Allāh is the friend of Aḥmed, son of al-Ḥasan.*" The letters are much defaced and the father's name is not quite sure.

XV. A mere scratching, or a crack in the plaster.

XVI. This drawing shows two different graffiti. On the right: (?) بن بكر (?) الله ولىّ سليمن, "*Allāh is the friend of Sulaimān, son of Bakr.*" On the left: . . . اللّهمّ اغفر لأيّوب بن عبيدالله, "*Allāh! forgive to Ayyūb, son of 'Ubaidallāh . . .*" The other letters in the drawing are almost invisible on the facsimiles.

XVIII. وهو يسـ(أ)ل [ا]لشهادة فى سبيله, "*and he begs the shahāda for His sake.*" These words belong to the right graffito in No. XVI.

XIX. الله ولىّ بكر بن عُمَر, "*Allāh is the friend of Bakr, son of 'Umar.*" The father's name may be read عمرو, "*'Amr,*" as the squeeze shows on the left a sign like a *wāw*.

XX. . . . (?) اللّهمّ أشهد, "*Allāh! I testify . . .*" Perhaps the beginning of the well-known testimony of faith; but the word *ashhadu* is doubtful, and, on the squeeze, there seems to stand a proper name in the third line.

XXI. الله ولىّ أيّوب بن حرب, "*Allāh is the friend of Ayyūb, son of Ḥarb.*" The father's name could be read حرث for حارث; but this name is always used with the article: الحارث.

XXII. . . . (?) بن كدلان (?) اللّهمّ ارحم لزمع, "*Allāh! have mercy on . . .*" The name زمعة is sometimes used; but I do not know whether the form زمع occurs also. The father's name is doubtful, and the following words are quite illegible (perhaps ولد الشهيد . . at the beginning of the second line).

XXIII. [Proper names] الله ولىّ. The names are illegible on the facsimiles, also on a pencil sketch of Prof. Macalister's, bearing the words: "Much clogged with lime."

XXIV. الله ولىّ عبيدالله بن حسن, "*Allāh is the friend of 'Ubaidallāh, son of Ḥasan.*" On the squeeze, the word ولىّ is plainer than it is in the drawing; the father's name is not quite certain.

XXV. اللهم, "*Allah!*"

XXVI. This text of four lines is the longest one of the series: but the letters are much defaced.

XXVII. Illegible, besides some loose characters.

XXX. Perhaps . . . الشهادة . . . أحمد بن وموسى . . . This graffito is much worn and the reading quite uncertain.

XXXI. إبرهيم, "*Ibrahīm.*"

XXXII. الله ولئ عمر, "*Allāh is the friend of 'Umar.*"

XXXIII. Five lines, illegible on the facsimiles.

XXXIV. Five lines, illegible, except the two first words الله ولئ (?).

XXXV. الله ولىّ محمّد بن سنان (?) المنشئ, "*Allāh is the friend of Muḥammad, son of Sinān, redactor* (or *reciter??*)." The father's name is not quite certain, and the last word, which is certainly a relative, may be read otherwise, according to the different possible ways of dividing and dotting the letters.

XXXVI. عبد الرحمن, [two words] الله ولىّ اياس (??) بن أحمد (?) "*Abd al-raḥmān . . . Allāh is the friend of Ayās (?), son of Aḥmad.*"

XXXVII. Some incoherent letters.

XXXVIII. As in No. XVI, the facsimiles show here two different graffiti. (1) On the right, on two lines: الله ولىّ عمرو بن فرح, "*Allāh is the friend of 'Amr, son of Farḥ.*" (2) On the left, on three lines: يزيد (?) فى هذه المعاذة [حضر?], "Yazīd (has been present?) in this shelter."

XXXIX. [Two or three proper names] الله ولىّ.

XL. The facsimiles show here thirteen lines of a minute and almost illegible writing, belonging to two or three different graffiti. In the third line, I believe, I can read: عبد [الو]احد . . . . . بن السائب (?) "*'Abd al-wāḥid, son of al-Sā'ib* (?) . . . "; the remainder is quite uncertain.

XLI. Some illegible characters.

XLII. Beginning of three lines, with the letters: . . . لله . . . ماحـ . . . | . . . وك | ; the squeeze seems to be cut off on the left side.

XLIV. [Proper name] ولىّ الله.

XLV. [?] الدولبى (?) بن رحمة [name] ولىّ الله, "*Allāh is the friend of . . . , son of Raḥmat*(*allāh* ?), *al-Daulābi*." The names are uncertain, and the squeeze is cut off on the left. *Daulābi* is a well-known relative; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, II, p. 622; Sam'āni, *Ansāb*, ed. Margoliouth (Gibb Memorial Series, XX), p. 233*a*.

A few general observations may be useful in concluding the study of these graffiti.

At the first view these little texts afford but limited interest. They contain only proper names, and those are of obscure persons who have left no other traces of their existence. One can extract from them no precise dates, nor any allusion to historic facts. On the other hand, palaeography gives no indication of their age, since their cursive and rude characters possess no style.

I beg to lay stress on this point, because it is customary to class Arabic graffiti among the inscriptions called Kufic, and to assign to these last, as a matter of evidence, a considerable antiquity.

It has long been believed that the Arabs originally employed exclusively the angular characters known as "*Kufic*," and that, later on, these were replaced by the rounded character called *Naskhi* or *Arabic*. This too simple notion rests on an imperfect knowledge of documents and of the laws of palaeography. The latter shew us that the form of the characters does not depend upon the age only, but also upon the material used and the technical process employed; it is therefore necessary to distinguish between the writing in manuscripts and that of inscriptions on hard material. Moreover,

since the discovery of the Arab papyri of Egypt, we know that, from the first, Arab scribes made use of a cursive and rounded character, not for the sake of the style, but for practical reasons; in fact, when writing with the pen, it is both easier and more rapid to give the letters a rounded than an angular form. On the contrary, when inscribing stone, the chisel struck by a mallet lends itself more readily to rectilinear and angular forms. One might easily apply this observation to examples borrowed from the writing of the most diverse peoples. As to the Arabs, under the influence of their earliest artistic culture they began to give a style to their writing: this was the angular character which at first prevailed, and the Kufic, as a style, reigned not only in epigraphy but also in beautiful manuscripts. Towards the twelfth century of our era, by an inverse phenomenon, the rounded style took the place of the Kufic in books, and even on monuments.

We need not here go into the causes of these changes, because our graffiti are not inscriptions in a definite style of writing. Their palaeography depends upon none but the practical rules dictated by the material and the process, and which have from the beginning created a cursive writing for manuscripts and an angular writing for lapidary inscriptions. Moreover, in this case the material is plaster, and in one cistern wet plaster, that is to say, a substance much softer than stone, although presenting more resistance than papyrus or parchment, since it must be cut into; the method of execution seems to be a tool of metal or wood guided by the hand alone; in other words, a process midway between that of the lapidary epigraphy and that of the manuscript. In fact, one sees that the characters of these graffiti are sometimes angular, sometimes rounded, according to the humour of the scribe, or accidents of the surface. The angular form seems to prevail in those shown in the drawings; in others, as in example No. XXVI, the rounded form prevails. But it is not evident that these variations correspond to defined epochs; and, for my part, I should not like to say of any one of these graffiti whether it was inscribed yesterday or in the first century of the Hegira.

THE WORSHIP OF THE PATRIARCH LOT IN PALESTINE.

By Joseph Offord.

In the *American Journal of Archaeology* for December last, Mr. Willard H. Robinson, Jr., has published two Greek inscriptions from Palestine referring to the "Holy Lot," and in one case to intercessions being made to him as to a saint. The first of these was found in the floor of a church, accompanied by a mosaic, near to Mount Nebo, and in the neighbourhood of Madaba, where the famous Mosaic Map of Palestine and the Egyptian Delta, was discovered some years ago. This text was edited from copies by Père F. M. Abel, in the *Revue Biblique*, in 1914; but some of the lines were misplaced and other minor errors made in the copies of the learned father. Mr. Robinson's more correct copy is therefore probably final, and we here give it together with his translation :—

1. *ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγιω(τάτου) καὶ ὡσιω(τάτου)* Ἰωάννου *εἰπισκό(που) ἐκτήσθη καὶ ἐτελιώθη ὡ ἅγιος τώπως σοῦ διὰ*
2. Βαριχᾶ *πρεσβυτήρου καὶ παραμοναρίου αὐτοῦ ἐν μηνὶ Νοεμβρίῳ χρόνον ἕκτιν ἰνδικτιῶνος.*
3. Ὁ Θεὸς *τοῦ ἁγίου Λὸτ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου* Προκοπίου, *πρόσδεξε τὶν προσφορὰν καὶ τὴν καρποφορ(ίαν)*
4. Στεφάνου *καὶ* Ἡλία *ἀδελφὸν τέκνα* Κομιτίσσα. Ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς *τὸν ἁγίον μαρτύρον, πρόσδεξε.*
5. *τὴν καρποφορίαν* Σεργίου *καὶ* Προκοπίου *τέκνον αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας* Ῥαβαθας Ἀναστασίας
6. *καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀναπαύσεως* Ἰωάννου Ἀναστασίου *καὶ ὑπὲρ ὃν προσένικεν* Κ(ύριο)ς *γινόσκι τὼ ὠνόματα.*

Translation.

"When the most holy and saintly John was bishop, there was "built, and completed, thy holy place by Barichas the Presbyter, "and his warden, in the month of November, the sixth year of the "indiction.

"The God of the holy Lot and of the holy Procopius receive "the tribute and offering of Stephen and Elias, brothers, children "of Comitissa's. The God of the holy martyrs receive the offering "of Sergius and Procopius, his children, for the sake of the salvation "of Rabatha Anastasia, and for the repose of John Anastasius and "for those who contributed (the Lord knows their names)."

From the inscription it is evident that Lot, like Procopius, was a patron saint whose God is to receive the offerings.

The second inscription, found close by, is still more explicit regarding the veneration of Lot; it reads:—

Ἁγιε Λὼτ πρόσδεξε τὴν
προσευχὴν Ῥώμης (καὶ) πορφυρ(ίας)
(καὶ) Μαρίας τῶν σῶν δούνδων.

"Holy Lot, receive the prayer of Rome (or Roma) and of "Porphyria and of Mary, your servants."

The δούνδων in the final line is evidently a lapidary error for δούλων.

This sanctification of Lot revealed by these ancient memorials of about the fourth century, is not entirely new to Christian history, because in an Armenian version of a Jerusalem ritual which gives considerable geographical and antiquarian information concerning Palestine, it tells us that Abraham and Lot were both reverenced in Galilee in the seventh century.

Moreover, in a work entitled *Liber Vitae*, by Mr. Walter de Grey Birch, the author mentions Lot as included in a list of Sanctified and Beatified Patriarchs of the Old Testament; the manuscript he quotes for this fact is "Stone 960," in the British Museum.

The Koran, *suras* 7 and 11, assert that Lot was sent as a preacher to the people of the five cities to deter them from their vices, and these views have probably been taken over by the Prophet from some Moabite or Ammonite traditions, which were also familiar among the Madaba people at the period the newly-found inscriptions were engraved, and later up to the Hegira.

A NEW PAINTED TOMB IN PALESTINE.

PAINTED tombs are so rare in Palestine that it is with great pleasure we draw attention to a valuable illustrated article by Mr. Warren J. Moulton, in the journal recently inaugurated by the Archaeological Institute of America.[1] Hitherto the best specimens were those discovered at Beit Jibrin by Dr. Peters and Dr. Thiersch, the full account of which was issued by the P.E.F. in 1905 (*Painted Tombs at Marissa*). Since then, the natives, by illicit digging, have found and rifled a number of tombs, the contents of which have come upon the market. In the course of 1913 Mr. Moulton heard of a tomb in the Beit Jibrin containing cocks painted in red on the wall, and after some search located it a full mile away from the "Tombs of Marissa" and close by the modern village. In his article he gives full measurements and details, the most interesting of which are the following :—

"In entering, one slides down an inclined plane of *débris* and then through an opening just under the top of the door . . . Once inside, one finds himself in a small single tomb-chamber . . . it has three arcosolia, or circular arched recesses, each containing a sunk bench grave." The paintings consist in birds and flowers. In one part there are the remains of the bodies and tails, probably of peacocks, while the flowers seem to be intended for anemones. On the right wall were two spirited representations of cocks done in red, facing each other, and separated by flowers and a cross. Below is a grape vine with several clusters of fruit. Mr. Moulton observes that crosses are throughout an integral part of the original scheme of decoration. This is shown both by their colouring and by their position. "Of themselves they would not necessarily prove this to be a Christian tomb, for the cross has been used as an ornament and as a religious symbol from earliest times. However, their nearly equilateral shape, as well as the emphasis given to them in the design, incline one to believe that they belong to the Byzantine period . . . "

[1] *Art and Archaeology*, Vol. I, No. 2, Sept., 1914, pp. 62–71.

"Flowers would indicate the same date, for they were used to adorn Christian tombs at an early period. In the case of those resembling anemones it is possible that the lilies of the field mentioned in the Gospels are intended." It agrees with this that the vine is an important Christian emblem. As for the peacocks, they represent immortality, on the supposition that their flesh was incorruptible; cocks were regarded as representating immortality or as heralds of the dawn of the coming of Christ. "In the darkness of the tomb they were thought of as proclaiming the morn of the resurrection. For this reason they are painted with open beaks in the act of crowing." Mr. Moulton points out that in the tombs of Marissa a cock with open beak is depicted, striding away from the doorway leading into the main chamber. Here the chthonic significance is made very evident by the representation of the three-headed Cerberus.

Mr. Moulton, who was on one of the tours of the American School of Oriental Research, had little opportunity for visiting other tombs in the vicinity. He saw enough, however, to conclude that the spot was the site of a necropolis constructed or appropriated by Christians. "We know that Beit Jibrin was early an important Christian centre, but we have as yet only fragmentary information as to the development of its history. Crosses occur in the great domed caverns for which the locality is famous. They are also scratched or painted in red in some tombs near the ruined church of St. Anne. But up to the present no Christian tomb possessing such elaborate decoration as the one here described has come to light in this vicinity or elsewhere in Palestine."

It remains to add that Mr. Moulton gives eleven excellent illustrations of the site, the paintings and the contents of the tomb.

S. A. C.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS.

Art and Archaeology, Vol. 1, No. 4. The fourth part of this publication of the Archaeological Institute of America contains four principal articles. The first deals with the constructional features of the Roman theatre, indicating the points in which they differ from those of the Greek theatre. The second article describes the sculptures resulting from the excavations in Corfu under Dr. Dörpfeld, and notes the varying interpretations which have been suggested for this archaic work. Both articles are well illustrated by photography.

The third deals with Louvain the destroyed; but the author, while evidently lamenting the terrible fact, seems to have been afraid to denounce its perpetrators—an unworthy moral timidity.

The last article speaks with pride and enthusiasm, which seem well justified, of Mr. Paul Bartlett's new sculptures for the pediment of one wing of the Capitol at Washington. The illustrations enable one to recognize in this work a talent which can keep in view the principles of classical art, while treating the subject in a living, realistic manner, fitted to appeal to the modern spectator.

The number also contains notes of matters of current interest.

American Journal of Archaeology, Vol. XVIII, No. 4. Mr. Howard Crosby Butler's article on the excavations at Sardes has an interest for the P.E.F. in the oportunity afforded for the comparison of the ancient pottery, there illustrated, with similar evidences found at Gezer, Beth-Shemesh, etc. The article by Mr. Osvald Sirén on "The Antique and Donatello," is sound enough; but, in greater or less degree, the same quality—that of showing the influence of the antique—may be observed in the works of many of the early Italian sculptors of the Renaissance, who, indeed, seem to have caught the very spirit of the great Past. It was not imitation, although they did sometimes intentionally imitate, but that remarkable perception, or power of observation, which enabled them to recognize what was

vital—the grandeur of simplicity and repose, the value of lines, and the treatment of drapery. It was, in fact, the opportunity of studying antique sculpture which brought about the birth of Renaissance sculpture with the Pisani and their successors.

Vasari, in his first sentences on Donatello, notices that he possessed this quality in a pre-eminent degree; but one may find it also later in such examples as Sansovino's "Mercury," which stood in the Loggia at the foot of the Venice Campanile.

J. D. C.

In the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, Vol. XXXVI. Parts 5 and 6, the greatest interest attaches to Dr. Langdon's account of the "Pre-Semitic Version of the Fall of Man." The preliminary statement in *The Times* of 24th June had already attracted the attention of Biblical students, and one is glad to understand that the Oxford Reader in Assyriology is proposing to publish the texts in full. The source is a cuneiform tablet forming part of the Nippur Collection in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. It is a religious text and gives us "the doctrines of the Nippur school concerning Paradise, the loss of this primeval age of bliss, the origin of human misery attended by the loss of pre-diluvian longevity, and the means devised by the gods to comfort mankind in his sorrowful lot." Dr. Langdon points out that "the ancients had not yet learned to discuss these great problems apart from a mythological framework with which they worked . . . the Nippur school teaching these doctrines by means of a mythological paradise in Dilmun ruled over by a pious king under the guidance of the wise god of the sea and the great mother-goddess who fashioned men from clay." The Eridu school, on the other hand, treated the same problem "by means of the story of Adapa who broke the wings of the south-wind, was deluded by a jealous god to refuse the bread and water of eternal life, and brought disease into the world because the water-god revealed to him the knowledge of decency and indecency." There is, first, a description of Mount Dilmun, the abode of peace and tranquillity among man and beasts; there was no sin, no pain, no old age. The water-god Enki, who lived here, became angry with man for some reason, and swore to cause mankind to perish. Then comes a passage referring to a deluge whereby man who had been fashioned from clay will dissolve like tallow in the waters. The goddess Ninkarsag, the creatress of

man, interferes to save a pious king and a few who had not sinned. The flood devastates the land, and the king who survives the event now appears designated by the name Tagtug ("gardener") and is dignified by the determinative of a god. To him the goddess reveals divine secrets. Tagtug is next found tending a garden; they build a temple for Enki and irrigate the barren land. Only after this do we reach the real "fall of man." We have a list of plants that grew in Tagtug's garden, and Ninharsag summons the pious survivors and gives them various commandments. Certain classes of plants were permissible as food, but not the cassia plant. Tagtug offends: "Man is represented as a free agent, and the disobedience traced directly to the weakness of the human will. There is no question here of a tree of life, or of a tree of knowledge." Dr. Langdon suggests that in course of time the idea would arise that the mother-goddess placed temptation directly in the way of Tagtug, and he observes that Ninharsag was, from most primitive times, connected with serpent worship. Consequently, may not the idea have arisen that a serpent deity tempted man? "Moreover, we long since knew that Eve, who created Cain with the aid of Yahweh, is really an old Canaanitish serpent deity. When the Hebrews made her into Adam's wife, the serpent tradition was naturally separated from her; under the influence of the Sumerian tradition that a serpent goddess had tempted man they fashioned the legend to read that a serpent tempted the wife, who in turn tempted man." The Nippur tablet then tells how Ninharsag provided eight divine patrons of civilization to aid man. Abu was the protector of the pastures, and Nintulla the patroness of the flocks and cattle stalls; there was a patron of medicine, and a patroness of liquors, a patroness of women, a guide to wisdom and understanding, while the functions of two of the deities remain obscure. Altogether, Dr. Langdon's discovery is of the greatest interest to Biblical students, and his promised volume on the text will be eagerly awaited.

Notice has been taken from time to time of the publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions in 1904–5 and 1909. A volume of Nabataean inscriptions is now published by Enno Littmann. It contains 107 of them, with full notes and a general introduction on the Nabataean inscriptions, language, palaeography, etc. The inscriptions are the work of Arabs who,

when they began to lead a settled life, and entered the civilized world of the Nearer East, adopted for official usage the current language, which was Aramaic. As we learn from No. 27, which is dated in the "year seven of Hadrianus Caesar" (A.D. 124), the language and script continued after the overthrow of the Nabataean kingdom. In time they became more Arabic, as is illustrated by a very interesting funereal inscription (No. 41) of a tutor (רב) of the king of Tanūkh. Here the script is in the transitional stage from the Nabataean to the Arabic. The language is more or less archaic. Moreover, the text is of much historical importance because it names as the king a certain Gadhīmat, who is evidently the chief of whose wars against Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, much is told. The inscription proves that he was no legendary or mythical personage, in spite of the dubious character of some of the old stories. Dr. Littmann points out that such evidence as this "leads us to have at least a little more confidence in early Arabic tradition than has been shown by some scholars within the last decades." It is necessary, however, to bear in mind that to doubt the genuineness of traditions encircling a name is very different from the further assumption that the name is that of a mythical person. Incredible things are often narrated of historical individuals, and perfectly credible things are told of purely fictitious persons. The incredible character of a tradition does not prove that the hero is fictitious, nor does the discovery that the name is genuine prove that what was said of him is trustworthy. Of historical importance also is inscription No. 101, which mentions "our lord Philip," *i.e.*, Philippus, son of Herod and husband of Salome. A noteworthy fact is that the monument is a "statue-altar" (בומס צלם): the precise meaning is not clear, perhaps "the form of an altar was chosen to serve as the pedestal for the statue, and with the form also the name was borrowed." The references to the religion of the Nabataeans bring some new data. Baal Shamīn, "the lord of heaven," appears as the tribal god of the Ḳasīy (No. 11), and of Matan(?) (מתנו, No. 23), just as he was that of Sa'id (*C.I.S.*, ii, 176). Allat, the great goddess of the Arab tribes east of the Ḥauran mountains, is once called "the lady of the place" (רבת אלאתר, No. 24). To the already known deity אלג(ו)א, we have two new ones: Yitha' (יתעו) and Malik (מלכו). No. 38, a bilingual, enables Dr. Littmann to identify *Aappa* and the god אירא, and to associate the

word with the root from which is derived the Arab name of a stone idol (*ghariy*). Especially curious is the goddess She'i' (שעיעו, No. 103), the local goddess of Si'. The name would seem to mean "a levelled square," and it is a question which came first, the name of the place or that of the goddess. "In the time of Arabic paganism names and deities and names of places were often identical . . . The deity coalesces with the place where it is worshipped: the Semites in particular are inclined to think it inseparable from its 'house.' Many places have, therefore, become, as it were, tombs of deceased gods. In our case it is more probable that the goddess was named after the place than that the place was named after the deity . . . for not only is the meaning of She'ī' originally better fitted for the name of a place than for the name of a goddess, but also the fact that the temples in Sī' were dedicated to Baal-Shamin and Dūsharā, not to She'ī', shows that she was not the 'lady of Sī',' as *e.g.*, Allat was a lady of Ṣalkhad."

A New Decipherment of the Hittite Hieroglyphs, by R. Campbell Thomson, M.A., F.S.A. (Society of Antiquaries, 1913). This is an elaborate work of 140 pages marked by independence, thoroughness and acumen. It is a subject upon which only other Hittite experts are qualified to pronounce, and we must content ourselves with a brief word upon Mr. Thomson's exceedingly painstaking and comprehensive monograph. It goes without saying that all who are interested in the decipherment should acquaint themselves with his investigations, the more so as he has brought to bear all his knowledge of Assyriology and Eastern history. This has enabled him to find clues, which, in his capable hands, lead to promising results. If the outsider may offer any remark upon this exceedingly abstruse subject, it is to express a somewhat sceptical surprise at the uncommon amount of alliances which the Hittite inscriptions appear to represent under the new decipherment.

The new *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* has already been heralded in these pages (April, 1914, p. 51 *seq.*). Among the more interesting contents may be mentioned Dr. Alan Gardiner's edition of an Egyptian papyrus published by the great Russian Egyptologist, M. Golénischeff, from the collection of the Hermitage Museum in Petrograd. It belongs to the Middle Kingdom, and is one of the common didactic compositions. Specially noteworthy is a mono-

theistic passage "perhaps the earliest and certainly one of the most remarkable of its kind." It speaks of the Sun-god as the creator of all, and treats "magic" (*hike*) as a weapon made by the Deity for men to ward off evil events. Of some interest also are the remarks on the Bedouin east of the Delta—the "wretched Aamu," who is always fighting and in trouble, who conquers not and is not conquered, who plunders the lonely settlement but will not attack a populous city! The old writer evidently knew of the readiness of the unruly tribes to make a raid on Egypt when internal disruption gave them an opportunity. The same number contains an important article by Dr. Hogarth on "Egyptian Empire in Asia." He defines three degrees of Imperial suzerainty. The first, territorial domination, with permanent occupation and exclusive administration, conditions such as we do not find before Alexander the Great, and were not even partially realized until the third century of the Roman Empire. The second, permanent tributary allegiance, secured by a few garrisons and the prestige of the conqueror. The third, a sphere of exclusive influence, from which tribute was expected, but not secured by the presence of agents, and yielded only to the occasional pressure of raids or to the fear of them. In Palestine the Egyptian Empire of the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties was of the second degree. Empire of the first degree was hardly known till the later Assyrian kingdom. The extension of the Egyptian Empire in Asia was "originally an immediate consequence, perhaps an effect, of the expulsion of the Hyksos power from the Nile Valley." But not until well on in the reign of Thothmes III did it become more or less permanent. Its northern confines extended roughly from Arvad to the watershed between the Orontes and the Jordan, and eastwards into the desert. North of this Thothmes, by the end of his reign, extended a "sphere of influence," and the exclusive rights of Egypt were respected by the other strong powers of Western Asia—the Kassites of Babylonia, the Mitanni of North Mesopotamia and the Hatti (Hittites). "This somewhat ill-defined and loosely knit empire" survived intact during the reigns of the next few kings. The attempt was even made to assimilate the Asiatics to the Egyptians by education, but with as little success as when the experiment has been made by subsequent imperial powers. "Egypt won and held her Asiatic dominion only in an interval between the collapse of older Asiatic powers and the rise of younger ones." The political events

influenced the culture of Egypt far more than that of Western Asia. Egypt underwent a profound change in the latter part of the reign of Thothmes III, whereas in Palestine the most active influence exerted from the Nile dates from the tenth to the seventh century B.C. Dr. Hogarth gives it as the result of a careful survey of the archaeological data that the culture of the XVIIIth dynasty of Egypt is unexpectedly small, and he suggests as an explanation that "far fewer agents of Egyptian culture were active in Syria than agents of Syrian culture in Egypt." He ventures to propose as a historical generalization that "at all periods Egyptian culture remained without influence on the general progress of the world, unless agents from without visited Egypt to learn of it on the spot. The Egyptians themselves did nothing to disseminate it abroad. They were not adventurers, they were not traders. They had not the instincts of an imperial people." There are four periods when its culture spread: the Late Minoan (sixteenth–fifteenth century B.C.), the Later Assyrian (tenth seventh century), and the Ptolemaic and Roman periods (third century B.C.–A.D. sixth century). These would be periods of external domination by a foreign power. "Whenever Egyptian culture passed the limits of the Nile Valley in antiquity, it was by the agency of foreigners. Trading adventurers or invaders from without had to go to its homeland and themselves ignite a torch at that bright flame of civilization, which, from first to last, the native Egyptian was fain to hide under his bushel." Egypt could not retain any hold in Palestine when any power of any strength appeared in Asia. "Egypt has never been able long to retain anything in Asia, or any alien to retain Egypt, saving and excepting *when one or the other has held command also of the Levant Sea.*" Dr. Hogarth proves this by rapidly summarizing the history of both Egyptian Empire in Asia and Asiatic Empire in Egypt. The fall of the XVIIIth dynasty Empire was inevitable; the movement south of the Hatti forced the retirement of Egypt, and the famous treaty between Rameses II and the Hittites showed that Egypt could count only upon South Palestine, which, too, in due time, passed away from the empire of the Nile. Thus does Dr. Hogarth sketch some aspects of the relations between Egypt and Palestine, and he enables us to form a broad view of the general political conditions which were familiar in the XVIIIth dynasty and which, when we come to the days of the little kingdoms of Judah and Israel, played a large part in determining the aspirations and the intrigues

of the Old Hebrew diplomatists. The newer and wider view of "Biblical history" which we owe to archaeology and the monuments not only makes the Old Testament "live" in a way that it did not before, not only illuminates the "human" aspects of the history, but it also gives a far greater significance to the development of the religion of the Israelites and to the factors that have made it a unique phenomenon in the world's history.

S. A. C.

THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

The fiftieth Annual General Meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund was held on the 22nd June, the Most Reverend the Archbishop of Canterbury, President of the Fund, occupying the chair. In spite of the adverse circumstances there was a good attendance, and great interest was taken in the proceedings. There were on exhibition a set of publications, the large and small raised maps, and the large contour model of Jerusalem. The Meeting being the fiftieth anniversary of the inauguration of the Fund, it was appropriate to survey the great work which it had been able to achieve during half-a-century, and to indicate the possibility of achieving results quite as important, if not more so, when, in due course, active exploration can be resumed. In an address, Colonel Sir Charles Watson, drew attention to the results attained in the past, and gave a most interesting summary of the chief land-marks. It is necessary that readers should bear in mind how great are the additions made to our Biblical knowledge since the Fund was first established. Only when one considers the Biblical handbooks, commentaries and maps of fifty years ago, can one realize the positive gains that have accrued. Not only has the Fund been exercising a stimulating influence upon other countries, but the character of the work it has undertaken or initiated has been so varied and solid, that it has every reason to be proud of what it has been able to accomplish through the support of subscribers and contributors.

Such work, it may be pointed out, has been twofold. It has been partly of direct significance for the Bible: the results have been directly visible and intelligible; their bearing upon Scripture could be seen at once. But, in addition to this, much of the work has been indirectly valuable for Biblical knowledge. It has contributed to the world of knowledge in general. Inscriptions, archaeological remains, meteorological reports, etc., often appear "dry" and uninteresting. Occasionally they are seen to strengthen or weaken some argument which is of importance for Biblical science; but very often their value is not immediately obvious to the ordinary reader. Yet it must be remembered that no evidence is ever valueless. Every datum falls into its proper pigeon-hole and plays a part, large or small, in increasing our knowledge of human history. Thus it is that our knowledge of to-day is founded upon innumerable enquiries in the past—enquiries, many of which did not perhaps seem to be fruitful, and it will be so in the future. Just as again and again in these pages important results have been recorded, partly by direct discovery and partly through the effect of a great array of evidence, so we may be sure that unremitting labour in the field of Palestinian exploration will bring us, from time to time, results immediately fruitful, and abundant evidence which will take its place in preparing for results equally valuable.

Although the present conditions do not permit active field-work, there is much to be done in the way of dealing with the material in hand, and in preparing for the future. There is not one of the belligerent nations that is not aware that there will in due time be a return to ordinary life. We must not be behind other nations in the world of knowledge; the work of Palestinian exploration must not be allowed to slacken. Consequently it is necessary that we should remind ourselves that scientific labours, such as the Fund undertakes, are vital to the general well-being of a nation. We must not be backward in promoting the progress of sound knowledge, and we must unite in furthering a department of research which has already done so much to make the Bible alive and real. No one can doubt that the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund has brought a vast amount of light to bear upon the Bible. The effect has been to make it more living and real to ordinary readers, and thereby to bring home its permanent value to ordinary minds.

This is especially important at the present age, and the Fund appeals confidently to all classes who have at heart the progress of knowledge on purely scientific principles, and the increasing influence of the Bible.

Mr. Joseph Offord, whose interesting article on the ancient papyri relating to the Jews in Upper Egypt in the fifth century B.C. is completed in this issue, has very kindly presented to the Fund two squeezes of a Greek inscription. He writes: "Hearing that there has been for some time, in the Alexandria Museum, a Greek inscription found at Kefr el-Dawar near Alexandria, the old Schedia, which mentioned a Jewish synagogue at Schedia, I asked Dr. Breccia to send me a copy." In a note in the Museum Catalogue upon this inscription, Dr. Breccia states: "The Jews residing at Schedia had consecrated a synagogue to the health of King Ptolemy III and his wife and sister Berenice and their son." "I have much pleasure," says Mr. Offord, "in presenting the squeezes to the Palestine Exploration Fund, with the hope that the inscription will be published."

In drawing attention to the books needed for the Library of the Fund, we may mention especially Lagarde's *Onomastica Sacra* (2nd ed., 1887), and the *Antonine Itinerary*. An edition of the latter by Parthey and Pindar was published at Berlin in 1847, see below, p. 111.

The New Survey: Double Annual for 1914–15.—The material resulting from the Survey of the Southern Country ("The Desert of the Wanderings") in the early part of 1914 proved to be more voluminous and more complete than could have been anticipated, seeing how short a time was available, owing to climate and other considerations. The whole Survey party must have worked with an energy and industry exceeding that of any previous expedition, notwithstanding the unusual difficulties which beset them from the nature of the country. The notes and descriptions of the various localities included are full and careful, and Messrs. Woolley and Lawrence are to be congratulated on having made them vivid and

interesting, and on having secured so many and characteristic photographic illustrations as well as plans. The few inscriptions collected have been examined and carefully analysed by Mr. Marcus Tod, of Oxford. They are all personal memorials but afford some exact dates.

Altogether the amount of material largely exceeds what should suffice for a double volume of the *Annual*—*i.e.*, for two years. But, on careful consideration, the Committee thought that the reasons for publishing the whole together and without undue delay were so strong that they felt compelled to disregard the strictly economical question, so far as subscribers are concerned, and to publish the whole as a double *Annual* for the years 1914–15.

The reasons for this course were :—

1. That the region is one which so greatly interests all Bible students.
2. That it has never previously been surveyed or systematically examined.
3. That it may never again be so thoroughly examined and reported on.
4. That the disturbed condition of all Europe makes it improbable that any work of excavation can be undertaken for the present.

The price of the book to the public outside the Society is 45*s*.

An account of the *Annual* will be found in the April issue of the *Q.S.*, pp. 61–63.

The Committee are bringing out a new edition of the ($\frac{3}{8}$ in. to the mile) Map of Western Palestine, of which the original edition has been for some time out of print. It is in six sheets, and will be, primarily, a travellers' map. The roads and railways constructed since the original survey have been added. For the sake of clearness, only the modern names are given. The hill shading is in a lighter tint for the same reason. All the country beyond that actually surveyed is shown in outline only. In a few years it may be possible to add much of this in a further edition. In the meantime, this is

the clearest map and the easiest to consult of any yet issued by the Society. The price of the complete six sheets will be 7*s.* 6*d.* If desired, the map can be mounted on linen and a roller, or to fold. It will be ready for issue when the war permits.

The Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains many duplicate volumes, including standard works by Robinson, Ritter, Stanley and others. They may be had separately, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The Index to the *Quarterly Statements* previously published included the years from 1869 to 1892, and the need for its continuation to a more recent date has been greatly felt. Some of the most important of the discoveries and work of the Palestine Exploration Fund belong to later years. Such are the excavations of sites on and around Ophel, by Messrs. Bliss and Dickie, in the Shephelah, by Messrs. Bliss and Macalister, and the great work at Gezer, by Prof. Stewart Macalister, besides many valuable papers and discussions on the sites in Jerusalem and elsewhere. During the year 1911, the Committee decided to supplement the old Index by one which should include the completion of the work at Gezer, that is to say, from 1893 to 1910. The laborious task was undertaken by Mr. (now Prof.) Dickie, whose familiarity with the matter dealt with, and conscientious exactitude, have now enabled the Committee to publish it with confidence. Price in cloth, 5*s.*; unbound, 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Secretaries.

Plaster casts of the raised contour maps (large and small) of Jerusalem have been prepared and can now be had on application. The horizontal scale of the large map is $\frac{1}{2500}$ and the total dimensions are 5 feet by 4 feet 3 inches. The remains of the city walls and streets

discovered on the Eastern and Western Hills are indicated in red lines. This map will be a most valuable help to the study of Jerusalem topography. Price £3 3*s*. Case and packing extra. The scale of the smaller map is $\frac{1}{10000}$ and the size 20 inches square. Price without addition of early walls and streets £1 5*s*.

A new and improved edition of the large photo relief map of Palestine (5 miles = 1 inch) is now ready. Price 6*s*. 9*d*. unmounted. Mounted on cloth, roller, and varnished, 10*s*. 6*d*. Size, mounted, 30 inches by 52 inches.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

Subscribers who have not yet paid will greatly facilitate the Committee's efforts by sending in their subscriptions early in the year, and thus save the expense of sending out reminders.

Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Assistant Secretary, they are now published annually. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1914 was given in the Annual Report published with the April number.

Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, the last work of the late Major-General Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., etc. In this work the late Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund has brought together for the first time all the evidence which the most exhaustive research enabled him to collect bearing on the subject of these Holy

Sites; and probably no man living had at once so intimate a knowledge of all investigations in the modern Jerusalem and so complete an acquaintance with what has been written about the Sites from the time of Constantine onwards. The price of the work (demy 8vo) is 6*s.*, by post 6*s.* 4*d.*

A reprint of *Names and Places in the Old and New Testaments*, by the late Mr. George Armstrong, is now on sale, price 6*s.* The book was out of print for some years.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869–1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869–1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10*s.* A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

Photographs of the late Dr. Schick's models (1) of the Temple of Solomon, (2) of the Herodian Temple, (3) of the Haram Area and Justinian's Church, and (4) of the Haram Area as it is at present, have been received at the office of the Fund. The four photographs, with an explanation by Dr. Schick, can be purchased by applying to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W., is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Prof. Lewis B. Paton, Ph.D., Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 50, Forest Street, Hartford, Conn.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks, among other journals and books, the following :—

Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, Vol. XXXVII, Parts 3 and 4 : Samaritan Phylacteries and Amulets, by Dr. M. Gaster.

The Irish Theological Quarterly, April, 1915.

Studies, March, 1915.

The Deity of the Crescent Venus in Ancient Western Asia, by Jos. Offord ; from the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, April, 1915.

University of Pennsylvania : Publications of the Babylonian Section : Historical Texts (Vol. IV, No. 1), Hist. and Grammatical Texts (Vol. V), Grammatical Texts (Vol. VI, No. 1), by Dr. Arno Poebel ; Legal and Administrative Documents from Nippur, chiefly from the dynasties of Isin and Larsa, by Edward Chiera, Ph.D.

The Materials for the History of Dor, by G. Dahl, Ph.D. ; from the Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Science, Vol. XX, Yale University Press.

American Journal of Archaeology, January March, 1915 : An Inscribed Tomb at Beit Jibrin, by W. J. Moulton.

The Biblical World, March–May, 1915 : Archaeology and the Book of Genesis, by Prof. L. B. Paton ; Amorite influence in the Religion of the Bible, by Louis Wallis.

Art and Archaeology, Vol. I, Nos. 5 and 6 : With the Moors in Andalusia, by C. V. Clark ; The Mosque of St. Sophia, Constantinople.

The Jewish Quarterly Review, April, 1915.

The Homiletic Review, May, June, 1915.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands.

The Committee desire to acknowledge with thanks the following contributions to the Library :—

From Mrs. Ross Scott :—

A Winter on the Nile, by the Rev. Charles D. Bell, D.D.

In Scripture Lands : New Views of Sacred Places, by Edward L. Wilson.

Une Croisière autour de la Mer Morte, by Father Abel.

Light from the East, or the Witness of the Monuments, by C. J. Ball, M.A.

Ancient Sculpture, by George Redford, F.R.C.S.

Scarabs: An Introduction to the Study of Egyptian Seals and Signet Rings, by Percy E. Newberry.

Kanaan en D'Omleggende landen, vertoont in een woordenboek uit de H. Schrift en Josephus, by F. Halma.

Planches du Voyage dans La Basse et La Haute Egypt, by M. Denon.

New Light on Ancient Egypt, by G. Maspero.

Travels in Upper and Lower Egypt, by C. S. Sonnini.

The Four Gospels in Syriac. Transcribed from the Sinaitic Palimpsest, by Robert L. Bensly, J. Rendel Harris, and F. Crawford Burkitt.

Sacrorum Evangeliorum Versio Syriaca Philoxeniana ex Codd. MSS. Ridleianis in Bibl. Coll. Nov. Oxon. Repositis Nunc Primum Edita; cum Interpretatione et Annotationibus, Josephi White, A.M. (4 vols.)

An Old Syriac Bible.

Biblical Discoveries in Egypt, Palestine and Mesopotamia, by J. Politeyan, B.A.

Lands and Peoples of the Bible, by J. Baikie.

The Druses of the Lebanon: their Manners, Customs and History, with a translation of their Religious Code, by G. W. Chasseaud.

From the Author, James Urquhart, F.S.A. (Scot.) :—

The Life and Teaching of William Honyman Gillespie.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Library any of the following books :—

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864); published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten.* (Leipzig, 1837.)

L. de Laborde, *Voyage de l'Arabic Petrée* (1829).

Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

The Antonine Itinerary—an edition by Parthey and Pindar was published in 1847 at Berlin. An edition in Russian is also extant, but is therefore not available save to the few who know that language.

For list of authorized lecturers and their subjects, see end of the Journal, or write to the Secretary.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

Form of Bequest to the Palestine Exploration Fund.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

Note.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

THE Fiftieth Annual Meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund was held in the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London, W., on Tuesday, June 22nd, 1915. The Most Reverend The Archbishop of Canterbury (President) occupied the Chair.

The PRESIDENT.—The Hon. Secretary will read letters regretting absence.

The HON. SECRETARY read letters regretting inability to be present from Mr. Walter Morrison, the only member of the Committee present at the meeting held fifty years ago, and one who had taken an active part in the proceedings of the Society ever since; from Sir Frederick Kenyon, Lord Normanby, the Dean of Ely, Professor Alexander Macalister, Professor Kennedy, Mr. James Melrose, Dr. Butler (the Master of Trinity, Cambridge), Mr. Leonard W. King, and Professor Bonney.

The PRESIDENT.—Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is now my privilege to move the first resolution:

> "That the Report and Accounts for the year 1914, already printed and in the hands of subscribers, be received and adopted."

It is a real pleasure to me, and I count it a very high privilege, to take part in the proceedings to-day and to move this first resolution. It is not always that looking back over fifty years of life the supporters and friends of a society are able to speak of its work as having sustained with unimpaired interest and quiet perseverance what was the initial plan of those who half-a-century ago set it in motion, but I am absolutely sure that with regard to the Palestine Exploration Fund and its work, we to-day can look back with no unmixed gratitude to the staff and with thankfulness over the whole

course of the life of the Society whose fiftieth year we are at this moment commemorating. They were wise men who resolved fifty years ago to take this work in hand in the way and on the lines which were then laid down. There were business men and profound students and thoughtful people and scholars of all sorts who were interested in what was being started, but I am inclined to think that the real interest which the world felt—for it was nothing less; it went beyond England—in the Palestine Exploration Fund and its work was due in large measure to two men who had about them not merely the scholarship, not merely the Biblical knowledge and interest and all that conduced to make this work in their view important, but who had also, each of them, a glamour of his own which was infectious and made other people care for what they loved—I allude to Arthur Penrhyn Stanley and George Grove. Both of these men in after years—not at that time, for I was a boy at school when the inauguration of this Fund took place—became dear friends of mine; they were much older than I, but they honoured me to a large degree with their intimacy. I constantly found the thoughts of both those remarkable men, the Dean of Westminster and Sir George Grove, as they then were, turning to the lines of thought which had been kept constantly to the front during the carrying on of the work which they inaugurated, and in which they had taken so keen a part. It is fifty years ago to-day since the Society held its inaugural meeting under the presidency of a man of thought and intelligence and hard-headed knowledge and learning, Archbishop Thomson of York, who was its President for a good many years after that time. He was one of the most competent guides and leaders we could have had, but I venture still to think that it is to the two men I have named, whose personal charm and whose power of making that loved by other people which they themselves love, it is to them in no small measure we owe the interest which this Society has evoked during all the years of its life. We have already been reminded that we are still privileged to have as our Hon. Treasurer Mr. Walter Morrison, who was one of those who helped to inaugurate the Society, and who has been its Treasurer for forty-six years. He had the choice between two alternatives laid before him to-day, two golden weddings; one he has attended in Hampshire, the other the golden wedding of his own association with this Society. I do not doubt he made the choice he should have made, but we all miss him here to-day. Those men decided, fifty

years ago, to get at an accurate knowledge upon the subject which was at that moment strangely behindhand in comparison with many other kindred subjects of thought and interest, sacred and secular, and they determined to do it in what is called a scientific way—scientific is sometimes rather a deterrent word to those who do not think scientifically—meaning that they were to carry on with accurate impartiality and with judgment a work which was certainly wanted topographically as truly as the corresponding work was wanted and carried on textually at that time for the elucidation of Holy Scripture and of the literature that specially concerned it. It is strange when we look back to see how vague and uncertain was the knowledge existing about ten years before that time as to sacred geography—the geography of the regions which we believe to have been the most important in the world. If anyone will look at the maps of Palestine which existed, say, when Queen Victoria came to the Throne, they will be surprised to see how uncertain, how incomplete in the worst sense—because it was not leaving space vacant, but filling it up wrongly—were the then existing maps and the literature about them which was current even among students and available for the public.

The man to whom I suppose we ought to feel that the work for which our Fund has existed owes its primary leadership and inception was a man to whom Dean Stanley was never tired of paying compliments, Dr. Robinson, the American explorer, whose three portly volumes were the outcome of careful study of a very remarkable kind, to which, as I have said, Dean Stanley used to bear unceasing testimony. But if we look on, the writing which first gave an impetus to this was, I am inclined to think, undoubtedly the *Quarterly Review* article which in 1854 was written by Canon Stanley, as he then was, upon, I think he called it, "Sacred Geography." It was an article which it will repay anyone to turn to now because of the extraordinary appreciation which he showed as to what would be the things likely to be elucidated, and what would be the kind of help likely to result from taking in hand in some regular way the investigation of these subjects. Two years afterwards came his great book, *Sinai and Palestine*. Considering the knowledge then at his disposal, it certainly is the most vivid and the most helpful of the books—and they are now multitudinous—which have been published on that subject. I have a copy of that book well thumbed and knocked about by having been carried on the saddle of horse or camel for weeks together on successive

journeys in the East, and I have never found it devoid of new interest, and one has turned to its pages for the bringing out of some thought which would otherwise probably have escaped one as regards the region in which one was travelling, or the investigations one was endeavouring to make. The preface with which that volume starts may have been taken as the very guiding bit of literature upon which our Society should conduct its work for years to come. I should like to take the opportunity to-day of paying tribute to one to whom we owe a very real debt of gratitude for what he has done in inaugurating the thoughts which are now everybody's thoughts, but which then belonged only to a very few. Since then literature has become voluminous in every sense of the word, and I suppose we should most of us feel that among later writers we should give a foremost place to Dr. George Adam Smith. In a different way he possesses the kind of gifts which belonged to the two remarkable men to whom I have referred, Stanley and Grove; he has a power which very few men have ever possessed in the same degree of bringing modern suggestion and modern thought in perhaps unexpected ways out of ancient material. I daresay many here remember the almost startling suggestion that if one wanted to understand the Old Testament rightly—it is in the preface to his *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*—one must thoroughly understand Napoleon's invasion of Syria, for Napoleon's invasion of Syria will throw light upon the things investigated when you are looking at what happened two or three thousand years before. Very few men would have thought of using that, and still fewer of bringing out its usefulness in the way George Adam Smith has so remarkably done. We have had throughout our work great men to guide our thoughts, to provide us with suggestions of an illuminating kind which are taken from material available to everybody, but it requires a man of genius to bring out of the material that which would be helpful in the way these men have done.

When we turn, as we look back along our fifty years, from the men who have been writing to the men who have been digging, we cannot forget how extraordinarily well served our Association has been by the men whose services we have been enabled to utilize for, I venture to believe, the public good. Then you think of Captain Wilson, or Sir Charles Wilson as he became; of Gordon, and what he did in the early days of Palestine exploration. When we think of Sir Charles Warren, who is happily still with us, and who, as

Captain Warren, did so much in the early years of exploration in a private manner to overcome some of the most difficult and uphill work, we feel we have had an important man indeed to guide and help us. Then Captain Conder was a man whose work in Palestine, it seems to me, was beyond price, owing to its painstaking accuracy and ingenuity of thought. When we come to the War Office, to the man to whom everybody's thoughts turn, and at whom everybody's eyes are looking at this time in the history, not only of England but the world, and remember that Lieutenant Kitchener was one of our most efficient officers, we again feel that it is not surprising that our work should have been successful, and that we should have been able to carry through satisfactorily what we took in hand. Those volumes of tomes I see in front of me should be worth studying and referring to when we remember a man like Lord Kitchener was a contributor to so very very many of them. I remember, when in Palestine for the second time, meeting at the bottom of a shaft a tall, gaunt figure, grimed from head to foot with the dirt of a shaft which happened to be passing through particular bits of most untoward soil and conditions, and being introduced to Lieutenant Kitchener. I recollect that now when I compare notes about those days. That was in the year 1875, I think. Then, of course, we think of the names of Drake, of Conder; then there was that remarkably versatile man of a different type from any I have spoken of, Dr. Tristram, whose work up to the end of his life was of a remarkably thoroughgoing kind in the investigation of all sorts of problems connected with these matters and which some of us, it seems to me, find of absorbing interest in our life and which we are going to find still more absorbing—the Desert of the Wanderings. And we remember what we owe to Professor Palmer for the work which Mr. Horner, who is going to speak to us to-day, and I shared for weeks together journeying through the regions of what was then called the Long Desert, and I think he will say, as I do, that by night or by day, we hardly had Professor Palmer's book out of our hands, so great was the interest with which it inspired us. The work which we have supervised from England and which has been carried out by those most competent and devoted men upon the spot has been in every sense of the word worth while. It is not easy for any man when he is growing old to attribute readily to their different

sources thoughts which have been fruitful and helpful to him in the later years of life, but I certainly should myself attribute to Eastern travel in successive times no small part of any thoughts of interest or enthusiasm about this kind of study in which one has oneself rejoiced or which one has tried to inspire in other people; and that people's interest in travel through those lands has been redoubled by the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund no one will doubt. There are few more fruitful enjoyments and sources of thought than to endeavour on the spot to hammer out investigations such as those which the men I have referred to hammered out: and even the rest of us, who, as amateurs, tried to do something of the same kind, perhaps for some long continued period now and then in our lives, have very much to thank God for in the privilege that was given us of the enjoyment at that time and the sources of thought that have come since.

I do not know whether Mr. Horner remembers, as I do, an occasion in the middle of the desert when we were trying to induce an Arab sheikh to understand some particular theory that we wished to get at. His reply was, "I understand—the place where Moses and Mr. Palmer were." To him the thought of Moses and Mr. Palmer came exactly side by side as something which was equally interesting to the traveller who came and, I am afraid, equally uninteresting to the genuine inhabitant of those lands.

Since then, ladies and gentlemen, the whole position has become changed. Egypt, which some of us loved so well in those days, and may love still, but in a totally different character, has become a fashionable resort, a highway of luxury and comfort and the rest; it has become more easily accessible and a great deal more is known about it. Naturally the conditions are entirely changed from those with which we were familiar long ago. There are other societies which have had in hand the elucidation of Egyptian history and life, both past and present. Palestine itself has been roaded and railwayed out of recognition to those of us who knew it forty years ago. I find a curious result of that easy travel in Palestine and the rush of a great many people there: they have all one thought, simply the identification of Biblical names in places and facts of the day, which is a wide departure from a rule which in those early days was laid down rather strictly, namely, to avoid calling places by the Biblical name which may or may not have been theirs, but to stick to the name belonging

to the place to-day and let it be proved whether the identity is real or not. I am often startled by hearing people talk about some place which may or may not have been rightly identified, and giving it a name which begs the whole question. It has become the custom, owing to the short time occupied in galloping by rail or road through the land, to give it far less plodding attention than was given in former years. I think it is a pity to find the superseding of the names which undoubtedly are those by which the place is locally known, and the giving to it a name which may be more or less certain, but which is sometimes purely conjecture; it is, I think, begging a question which may require investigating. I cannot say with what interest I, personally, am looking forward to the productions of future writers upon the Desert of the Wanderings: we have a good deal to learn as to things which have been familiar to us for years past.

Now we are asking at this tremendous time in the world's life: What will this appalling War do as regards the work which we have in hand? I do not see how it can be other than in the long run a gain, because it is almost impossible to conceive that there will not hereafter be a better opportunity to investigate the things we have hitherto found it hard to investigate; and none the less I suppose most of us look with some trepidation to the thought of the damage which may accrue to things of interest and the harm which may be done to spots which we desire to see treated with reverence in the regions about which we are speaking. But it is not about that we meet to-day, though it is difficult to let one's thoughts go anywhere else than to the War, which is the greatest event the world has yet seen in terribleness and horror, whatever may be its ultimate issue for the world's gain or good. We have for fifty years adhered wisely to the lines laid down at first, and I am certain it was a good thought on the part of those who began the work that whatever was undertaken should be carried out scientifically; that the Society should, as a body, abstain from controversy, and that it should not be started or conducted as a religious Society. The very fact that these last two rules would nowadays hardly seem necessary shows the way in which the lesson was wisely learned: and those rules were laid down to start with and followed conscientiously by those who have worked the Society since then. The outcome of our work of fifty years of quiet perseverance has not been in vain. Not only have we a far greater knowledge than we had before of the regions which

are to us the most sacred on earth, but a more vivid interest thereby aroused in great parts of the writings which we believe to be incomparably important to the story of the world. We have splendid maps, fifty years of devoted work, high expectations of future usefulness which has still to come out of what we have now got in hand, and I am quite clear that among the many and varied efforts that have been made for the enlightenment of man in things sacred and secular in the last half of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century the place occupied by the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund will not be the smallest.

Col. Sir CHARLES M. WATSON.—I have much pleasure in seconding the motion for the adoption of the Report.

The PRESIDENT then put the resolution to the Meeting and declared it carried.

The HON. SECRETARY.—It has been my duty year after year for a good many years to mention at this meeting the loss that the General Committee has sustained by death during the past twelve months. This is the first occasion on which I have been able to say that there have been no deaths on the General Committee. I hope that may be a good augury for the coming year.[1]

Col. Sir CHARLES M. WATSON.—I have pleasure in proposing the following resolution:—

> "That Mr. Leonard Woolley, who conducted the archaeological researches in the recent survey of the Desert of Wanderings, and now serving with H.M. forces, be invited to join the General Committee."

I think it is most satisfactory that the last work of the Fund was completed just before the War; it was finished in May, and Mr. Woolley's interesting report, which all the subscribers can get and have in their hands, is on the table. The map that has been prepared by Capt. Newcombe and Lieut. Greig, of which he told us last year, is ready, but for evident reasons we cannot issue it: we do not want the Turks to get maps which they might find rather useful in their feeble efforts to get to Egypt. It is better

[1] The Hon. Secretary was, unfortunately, mistaken. During the 12 months the deaths occurred of the Rt. Rev. Dr. Blyth, Bishop in Jerusalem and the East; and of the Rev. Canon Cheyne, D.D., the veteran Biblical scholar and critic.

we should not issue the maps for the present. But the archaeological reports, in which the Turkish soldiers will not find much to help them, have been issued to subscribers. Mr. Woolley, Mr. Lawrence, Capt. Newcombe and Lieut. Greig are all at present serving in the English Army in Egypt. It is satisfactory to think that our explorers, civil as well as military, are under the flag. Mr. Lawrence was at one time, as a light-weight, used as an observer in an aeroplane —very useful for a man who surveys the country. Mr. Woolley is in the Intelligence Department, and I have great pleasure in proposing that his name be added to the list of the General Committee.

Mr. D. G. Hogarth.—I have very great pleasure in seconding Sir Charles Watson's proposition. Very few people are better fitted, both by training and experience, than Mr. Woolley. He has had other experience of Assyria, and when the War came upon us he was directing the British Museum Exploration of Carchemish, and it is intended to resume that work as soon as Assyria is quiet again. Sir Charles Watson said Mr. Woolley is in the Intelligence Department. He was until two or three months ago at Cairo, but he has been transferred to Port Said, and in a responsible position in the Chief Intelligence Division at Port Said he is able to learn even more about the Northern Desert of Syria, and, perhaps, about Southern Palestine than he was before. I cannot imagine anybody who is likely to be a more useful member of the Committee than Mr. Woolley, and I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution.

The resolution on being put to the Meeting was unanimously carried.

Sir Edwin Pears.—Mr. Chairman, I have to propose :—

"That the actual members of the Executive Committee be re-elected."

We shall go a long way before we get a better selection than has been made. There is no one we want to get rid of, no one at present whom we wish to add to their number, and I have very great pleasure in proposing the resolution. I would like to add one remark. When His Grace spoke of the principles of the Society in reference to religious denominations he recalled to me the fact that when I arrived in England, almost the first letter I received was one requesting me to take the Chair, simply because I belonged to

the Palestine Exploration Fund, at a meeting held by the Jews in London at their school for training Rabbis, and the subject of the lecture was the Exploration of Palestine by Lord Kitchener, and the lecture was given by Professor Daiches, and was an admirable one.

Rev. G. W. Horner.—I beg to second the resolution. One name has been omitted by His Grace, of which we are reminded by those raised maps in front of us—that of Mr. Armstrong, who was the designer of these and the extremely clever originator of those wonderful maps. His Grace has been good enough to refer to a trip I took in his companionship in Egypt and Syria, and one side of what was coming was plain to me. I used to try and learn my Arabic from the dragoman, and studied from a little book he gave me; but His Grace, by instinctive power, understood much better than I ever did, as he showed us in his explanation about Moses and Mr. Palmer. It may be interesting to you to know His Grace appeared as a draughtsman, and there is a collection of some small drawings of his, a sort of replica of the studies of Lebanon. As for Lord Kitchener, I had the pleasure of making his acquaintance—not at the bottom of a shaft—in the year 1876 in the Albert Hall, where he was elaborating the plans which he had brought from Syria. And His Grace may remember our entertaining Captain Conder, who had just arrived in the Holy Land, when he was staying in Jerusalem in our tent, and from that time his name was celebrated throughout Egypt. As His Grace has said, we had great opportunity of seeing things in those days which have now disappeared. There was the Mashetta Palace and the one at Rabbath Ammon, which, I believe, has been pretty well demolished, and still more Jerash, which we saw actually complete in those days.

The motion on being put to the meeting was carried unanimously.

Colonel Sir Charles M. Watson.—Your Grace, Ladies and Gentlemen, as this is the Fiftieth Annual Meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and, as in consequence of the present war, it has not been possible to do any work in the Holy Land since the last Meeting, it would not be out of place if I were to give a short *résumé* of the operations of the Society since it was established on June 22nd, 1865, and of the way in which the Committee have endeavoured to carry out the objects of its founders.

There is no country in the world that has a greater interest for mankind than Palestine, because it contains Jerusalem, the Holy City of Christians and Jews, and regarded with veneration by the Mahomedans, who hold it as only a little less sacred than Mecca, the centre of their faith, and Medina, the burial place of their prophet. Palestine has also held an important place in civil history from the earliest times, as it is situated close to the line separating Asia from Africa, and has been the scene of many battles between the great nations of the past. It contains the remains of the many different races that have occupied it, the people of the Stone Age, the Canaanites, the Egyptians, the Philistines, the Israelites, the Assyrians, the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Christians, and the Arabs, who built city after city, of which the ruins still exist, though often buried under a vast accumulation of *débris*, and only to be recovered by careful exploration.

Considering the large number of books which had been written about Palestine it is remarkable how little was really known of the country in modern times, and it was not until 1804 that an attempt was made to explore it scientifically. In that year a Society was founded called the Palestine Association, which had for its object to procure and publish information regarding the geography, history, people and climate of the Holy Land. In 1810 this Society issued a translation of Seetzen's Travels, and they sent out an expedition to examine and report; but the times were unpropitious, as the nations were engaged in a great war, and the explorers could do nothing on account of the dangerous condition of Palestine.

The Royal Geographical Society was founded in 1830, and, four years later, the Palestine Association decided that, as the new Society undertook similar objects to those of the Association, the funds, books, and papers should be handed over to the former, and so the first Palestine Exploration Society came to an end; and, as the Geographical Society had the whole world as the scope of its operations, it could not devote much attention to a small country like Palestine, especially as the interests connected with it were archaeological and historical, rather than geographical.

It was in 1838 that the first important step was taken in the direction of Palestine exploration, and then by an American traveller, the Rev. Edward Robinson, who, having been appointed Professor of Biblical Literature in a New York College, decided that he could not undertake the duties of the position until he had

made himself personally acquainted with the lands of the Bible. He began by studying the whole literature of the subject, so as to learn everything that was already known, and then travelled through Sinai and the Holy Land, making careful notes of all he saw. On his return to the United States he published the results of his investigations in a volume, entitled *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, which was the most valuable contribution to the subject that had been written, and recognized as such by the Royal Geographical Society, as the Royal Gold Medal was awarded to the author in 1842.

Robinson's example was followed by others, among whom was the Rev. A. P. Stanley, afterwards Dean of Westminster, who travelled in the East in 1852, and again in 1862, when he accompanied His Majesty, King Edward VII, then Prince of Wales, on a tour in the Holy Land. After returning from his first expedition he published a book with the title *Sinai and Palestine*, and, in the preparation of this, he was assisted by Mr. George Grove—the late Sir George Grove –who was engaged in writing the articles dealing with the Holy Land for Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*. Mr. Grove, feeling, like Dr. Robinson, that he could not do this work satisfactorily without a personal knowledge of the country, started for Palestine in 1858, and returned full of enthusiasm for the subject. He felt the great need for a good map and decided that such a map must be made.

An unexpected assistance towards the work of Palestine research came from another quarter; the late Baroness Burdett Coutts had heard that Jerusalem had serious need of a good water supply, and decided to supply the want if possible. On making enquiry as to the best way to proceed, she learned that the first step was to have a good survey made of Jerusalem and the neighbourhood, and placed £500 in the hands of Sir Henry James, Director-General of the Ordnance Survey, for this purpose. Captain Wilson, R.E., volunteered to carry out the work, and proceeded to Jerusalem in 1864, when he made an exact survey of the city and a map of the environs. This survey may be regarded as the actual origin of the Palestine Exploration Fund, for, while Wilson was still in Jerusalem, Mr. Grove came to the conclusion that the time had come for giving tangible form to his long cherished project, and, with the consent of the Dean of Westminster, who was equally interested, a Meeting was held in the Jerusalem Chamber, Westminster, in May, 1865,

presided over by the Archbishop of York, when it was decided that "An Association should be formed, under the title of the Palestine Exploration Fund, for the purpose of investigating the archaeology, geography, geology, and natural history of Palestine." A Committee was formed, and Mr. Grove was appointed Honorary Secretary.

The next step was to summon a Public Meeting, which was held at Willis's Rooms on June 22nd, 1865, when the Society was formally established. In his opening address the Archbishop of York stated the principles upon which the work was to be carried out: these were as follow:—

1. That whatever was undertaken should be carried out on scientific principles.

2. That the Society should, as a body, abstain from controversy.

3. That it should not be started, nor should it be conducted, as a religious Society.

These principles have been rigidly adhered to during the past fifty years, and, in consequence, the Society has had support from Christians of all denominations, Jews and Mahomedans, because it is known that the work is conducted with the same spirit of the fearless search for truth that obtains in any other branch of scientific research.

Of the original Committee appointed at the inaugural Meeting one Member only remains; I allude, of course, to Mr. Walter Morrison, who has been Honorary Treasurer for forty-six years, and has always been the mainstay, the guardian, and the true friend of the Society.

The Meeting was followed by an appeal for funds, and many large contributions were received, headed by a donation of £150 from Her Majesty Queen Victoria, who graciously consented to become the Patron of the Society. In a short time sufficient funds had been collected to justify the Committee in making a start, and it was decided to begin by making a preliminary reconnaisance of Palestine from north to south, and Captain Wilson, who had just returned from Jerusalem, was appointed leader of the expedition, with Lieut. Anderson and some men of the Royal Engineers as his assistants. The party landed at Beirut and commenced their work in Palestine, at Banias, near the sources of the Jordan, on January 1st, 1866. A triangulation was carried along the range of hills which form the backbone of the country, fifty stations being fixed

trigonometrically and astronomically, and a sketch map made on the scale of one inch to the mile, with plans of important places on a larger scale. Thanks to the scientific knowledge of the officers a larger amount of accurate information about Palestine was collected than had ever been available before, but one of the main results of the expedition was to show clearly that the first step towards a scientific knowledge of the Holy Land was the preparation of a complete survey of the country on a sufficiently large scale to mark every geographical and topographical feature, and to indicate every tell or mound under which one of the cities of the past is buried.

But although the production of such a survey was very important, there were other questions in which some of the subscribers were specially interested, one of which was the exploration of Jerusalem itself, a city which has gone through so many vicissitudes and been so often destroyed, that it is impossible from a mere inspection of what now exists to realize what it was like in ancient times, as the accumulation of *débris*, in some places eighty or one hundred feet in depth, has completely obliterated many of the features. Jerusalem can only be studied by exploration, and, in 1867, the Committee decided to send out an expedition with the view of solving some of the questions in dispute, such as the site of the Temple of the Jews, the line of the walls with which the city was fortified in the time of the siege by Titus, the position of the Holy Sepulchre, the City of David, the Castle of Antonia, in which St. Paul was imprisoned, and other places.

In order to carry out the work permission was obtained from the War Office to engage the services of Lieut. Warren, R.E., now General Sir C. Warren, G.C.M.G., who, with a party of the Royal Engineers, proceeded to Jerusalem early in 1867, where he worked for three years. His operations were specially directed to the Eastern Hill, on which formerly stood the Temple, first built by King Solomon and twice reconstructed, on the site now occupied by the Mahomedan building, the Dome of the Rock, sometimes, though incorrectly, called the Mosque of Omar. This building stands within a large enclosure called the Haram, which, as regards its present size, dates from the time of King Herod the Great, and is surrounded by immense walls, of which the lower portions are completely concealed by rubbish. In order to examine them to the foundations, Warren had to sink shafts, some of which were eighty feet in depth, and drive galleries through the *débris*, a difficult

and dangerous task, as the rubbish was a kind of loose shingle which had no cohesion, and tended to fill up the shafts and galleries.

Warren's underground explorations threw an entirely new light on the ancient city, and showed how the deep valleys described by Josephus still existed, although almost completely filled up with rubbish, so that it became possible to understand what Jerusalem was like in the days of David and Solomon. The results of his work, combined with that of Wilson, form the basis of that study of the place which has continued ever since.

During the time that these explorations were in progress at Jerusalem, another expedition was sent out under the late Prof. Palmer, who was afterwards murdered by the Bedouin during the war of 1882, to examine the country south of Palestine—known as the Negeb, or the Desert of the Wanderings—where the Israelites passed the forty years of waiting, until they were allowed to cross the Jordan and enter the Promised Land. Palmer was a thorough Oriental scholar, and had been the companion of Captain Wilson, when the latter made the survey of Mount Sinai in 1868, so that he was already well acquainted with the desert, and, on his second expedition, was able to collect a great deal of useful information.

The next work undertaken by the Society was one of the greatest importance—the Survey of Western Palestine. As the expense was certain to be large, the Committee made a special appeal for funds, and sufficient was collected to allow the survey party to be sent out in 1871. Captain R. W. Stewart, R.E., was sent in command, but, soon after his arrival in Palestine, he was taken seriously ill and had to return to England, when Lieut. C. R. Conder, R.E., was appointed to succeed him. Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake acted as assistant until his death in 1874, when his place was taken by Lieut. Kitchener (now Earl Kitchener).

The Survey, so far as the field work was concerned, occupied a period of six years, and, after the final return of the party to England in 1877, several years more were devoted to the preparation of the Map on the scale of one inch to the mile, and of the Memoirs containing the reports and plans. The amount of information collected was far greater than had been anticipated, and it may fairly be claimed that nothing has ever been done for the illustration and right understanding of the historical portions of the Bible, since the translation into the vulgar tongue, which can be compared with this great work.

This Survey of Western Palestine included the whole country west of Jordan, between a line on the north from Tyre to the sources of the river, and one on the south from Gaza through Beersheba to the Dead Sea. The Map was published in two editions, one on the inch scale, and the second on the scale of three-eighths of an inch to the mile; other editions on the latter scale were afterwards issued, upon which the Old and New Testament names were shown, so far as these had been identified. The total cost of the whole work, including publications, was a little over £17,000.

While the survey was in progress, Prof. Clermont-Ganneau, the eminent French Oriental scholar, was employed by the Society on an archaeological mission in southern Palestine, and sent some very valuable reports on the antiquities of the country.

In 1882 Captain Conder commenced the survey of the country east of the Jordan, but the time was not propitious, and, after he had completed about 500 square miles east of the Dead Sea, he was ordered by the Turkish authorities to withdraw, and the survey had to be stopped.

But, after the British occupation of Egypt in 1882, matters were more settled, and, in 1883, an expedition was sent out under Prof. E. Hull, Director of the Geological Survey of Ireland, to investigate the geology of Sinai and Palestine. He was accompanied by Major Kitchener, who surveyed the Wady Arabah, which lies between the south end of the Dead Sea and the head of the Gulf of Akabah.

As the publication of the Maps and Memoirs was an expensive business, little could be done in the way of further exploration, until these were completed and paid for. But, in 1889, when the liabilities were reduced to a small amount, and a loan, which it was necessary to raise, had been paid off, the Committee decided to commence the examination of the Tells or sites of buried cities, of which there are so many in Palestine. The place that was first taken in hand was a mound called Tell el-Hesy, situated about sixteen miles east of Gaza, and Prof. Flinders Petrie, the well-known Egyptian archaeologist, began work there in 1890. He found that the site had been occupied from a remote period, long before Joshua and the Israelites entered Canaan, and that the mound contained a number of buried cities, overlying one another, each in succession having been built over the ruins of its predecessor. There was little doubt that the place was the Lachish of Bible history, and

that one of the cities was that which had been captured and destroyed by Joshua, while another had been fortified in the time of the kings of Judah. Prof. Petrie was obliged to return to Egypt, and his place was taken by Mr. F. J. Bliss, who worked at Tell el-Hesy until 1892, and made many interesting discoveries.

In 1893 permission was obtained from the Turkish Government to re-open explorations at Jerusalem, and Mr. Bliss, who was assisted by Mr. A. C. Dickie, now Professor of Architecture in Manchester University, carried out some important excavations on the south side of the city, when they recovered the old first wall, described by Josephus, which had been so completely lost that some writers even denied its having existed, and also some of the ancient gates, mentioned in the Book of Nehemiah. This was a satisfactory solution of one of the disputed questions regarding the topography of Jerusalem. Mr. Bliss found also, about twenty-five feet underground, the foundations of the old church at the Pool of Siloam, probably built by the Empress Eudocia in the fifth century, and destroyed by the Persians when they invaded Palestine in the seventh century.

Mr. Bliss worked for three years in Jerusalem, and then began a new series of excavations on the Tells of Southern Palestine, four of which were examined with very satisfactory results. These were Tell el-Zakariyeh, Tell es-Safi, possibly the Philistine city of Gath, Tell el-Judeideh, and Tell Sandahannah, the ancient city of Mareshah, near to which Asa, king of Judah, defeated the Egyptians. At each of these careful explorations were made, and many interesting remains were found of the people of the past, adding to our knowledge of the history of the country.

The next Tell selected for examination was one called Tell el-Jezar, the Biblical city of Gezer, where Mr. R. A. S. Macalister worked from 1902 to 1905, and again from 1907 to 1909, during which he was able to trace the history of the site from the days of the people of the Stone Age, and through the Canaanite, the Egyptian, the Philistine, the Israelite, and Syrian occupations. Here he found a remarkable heathen temple, with the monoliths still standing, while around, preserved in jars, were the bones of the infants who had been offered in sacrifice to Moloch. Here was the castle built by Simon, the renowned Maccabean chieftain, when he captured Gezer from the Syrians; while one of the most interesting discoveries was a great tunnel, twenty-three feet in height,

descending obliquely downwards into the rock, which must have been excavated by people of prehistoric times, though for what purpose is doubtful. To give an idea of the extent of Mr. Macalister's discoveries it may be mentioned that his reports and drawings fill three large volumes.

In 1911–12 Dr. Duncan Mackenzie carried out an interesting series of excavations at 'Ain Shems, probably Bethshemesh of the Bible, to which the Ark was sent back by the Philistines after it had been captured from the Israelites in the time of Eli, the High Priest. Here, again, was the story of a site which had been occupied from the earliest times, and city after city had been built and destroyed, each set of inhabitants leaving some relics of their occupation. And it must be remembered that Palestine is covered with such Tells, of which only a very few have yet been explored; that there are many others concealing secrets, which, when revealed, will throw new light on the history of the past, and confirm the truth of the Bible.

The last expedition undertaken by the Society was in 1913–14, when the War Office allowed two Engineer officers, Captain Newcombe and Lieut. Greig, to carry out the survey of the country south of Beersheba, and up to the frontier of Egypt. With them were associated two skilled archaeologists, Mr. C. L. Woolley and Mr. T. E. Lawrence, who reported on the antiquities of this very interesting district, the scene of the wanderings of the Israelites for forty years. The work was completed in May last year, and we had the satisfaction of hearing Captain Newcombe's description of the survey at the last General Meeting, while Messrs. Woolley's and Lawrence's Reports have recently been published. The map has been prepared, but, for obvious reasons, cannot yet be issued.

In the above brief summary I have endeavoured to give an idea of the work which has been carried out by the Palestine Exploration Fund during the fifty years of its existence, and you will realize the manner in which the original object of its founders, the scientific exploration of the Holy Land, has always been kept in view, and the original principles laid down for its operations have always been strictly adhered to. I hope that, when the present war is at an end, and explorations in Palestine can be resumed, the results in the future may be as important as, if not more so than, those in the past.

The PRESIDENT.—I am sure we are all grateful to Sir Charles Watson for the extremely interesting account he has given us of our work. (Applause.)

Colonel Sir CHARLES M. WATSON.—May I be permitted to move a resolution. I wish to propose a vote of thanks to His Grace for having been so good in the midst of his numerous engagements as to come here and take the chair on this occasion. I am sure it is a great pleasure that at the Fiftieth Anniversary we should have our President to preside over us and to address us so eloquently as he has done on the work of the Society.

The vote of thanks having been unanimously carried,

The PRESIDENT said:—I am not going to inflict a speech upon you, but I should have been very sorry indeed had it been impossible to have been here, although I am painfully conscious of the fact that I have inadequately performed the duties of such an office. It is practically impossible for me to keep abreast of the responsibilities placed upon me at the present time; therefore the research and investigation one would like to pursue, and the literature of the hour and of our Society and its work has been obliged to be left for a time of greater rest and leisure than is possible for me by day or by night at present. I should have been very sorry had it been my misfortune to have been prevented from taking, however little worthily, the position which ought to belong to the President of this Society.

Dr. PERCY D'ERF WHEELER.—Your Grace, I have much pleasure in proposing a vote of thanks to the Society of Antiquaries, who have been so kind and shown such courtesy in allowing us the use of their rooms to-day.

The PRESIDENT.—I am quite sure we should all feel we want to recognize to the full the privilege we have in meeting in so appropriate a place, and we are all most grateful to the Society for the use of the room.

The vote of thanks having been carried by acclamation, the proceedings terminated.

EGYPT AND PALESTINE.[1]

By Colonel Sir Charles M. Watson, K.C.M.G., C.B.

The present attempt of the Turks, acting under the direction of the Germans, to march an army across the desert lying between Palestine and Egypt, and to force a passage over the Suez Canal, has naturally directed attention to the relationship between the two countries, and to the way in which their fortunes have been linked together from time immemorial. It is sometimes assumed that this desert forms a serious barrier between them, and it is forgotten that, although not an ideal country for travelling, it has never proved an obstacle to the advance of armies, and that there have been many cases in the past of successful invasions of Egypt from Palestine, and of Palestine from Egypt.

The desert that forms the natural boundary between Egypt and Palestine can be simply defined. On the north is the coast of the Mediterranean from Port Said to Rafah, a distance of 120 miles, and thence by a line from Rafah to the southern end of the Dead Sea, about seventy miles. The eastern boundary is a line of 110 miles by the Valley of the Arabah from the Dead Sea to the north point of the Gulf of Akabah; and the southern is the road running from Akabah through the fort of Nakhl to Suez, 150 miles in length. South of this road lies the Peninsula of Sinai, a mass of rugged mountains intersected by barren valleys, which form a continuation of the great desert. These three boundaries, the northern, the eastern, and the southern, have not altered within historic times, and are much the same now as when Moses led the Israelites to the Promised Land.

But, in this respect, the western boundary of the desert differs considerably from the others, as it has altered much within a com-

[1] Reprinted from the April Number of the *Cornhill Magazine*, by kind permission.

paratively recent period, and the fact that it is now so clearly defined by the line of the Suez Canal, stretching from north to south across the isthmus for 100 miles, tends to obscure its history, and to conceal changes due to alterations both in the course of the Nile, and of the position of the northern end of the Gulf of Suez—alterations that have gradually taken place since the prehistoric times, when the waters of the Mediterranean reached the site of Cairo, and joined the Red Sea somewhere in the vicinity of the present town of Ismailia.

As the old writers said with truth, "the Delta of Egypt is the gift of the Nile," and the mass of deposit brought down during long ages from the mountains of Abyssinia, has gradually driven back the waters of the Mediterranean, cut off that sea from the Gulf of Suez, and formed the country now known as the Delta or Lower Egypt. But, while the line of coast was pushed farther to the north, the waters of the Nile had still to reach the sea, and forced their way across the Delta through a number of branches, which have constantly changed. Of such branches there are only two at present, the Rosetta and Damietta; but, two thousand years ago, there were at least seven, of which five no longer exist. Of these five the most important were the western or Canopic mouth, which, passing to the extreme west of the Delta, reached the Mediterranean near Alexandria, and the Pelusiac mouth, which left the Nile near Memphis, and, taking a north-easterly direction at the foot of the mountains, joined the Mediterranean to the east of the ancient city of Pelusium, about twenty miles east of the line of the present Suez Canal.

The point where this branch crossed the line of the canal is doubtful, but it was probably somewhere between El Kantara and Lake Timsah, "the Lake of Crocodiles," on which the town of Ismailia now stands. The closing of the Pelusiac branch has greatly altered the character of this part of the Delta, as the district through which it passed was formerly a fertile country, the Land of Goshen of the Bible, but is now, for the most part, a sandy desert.

The Red Sea also has greatly altered, as it extended much farther north than at present, and, as late as the sixth century A.D., was connected with the Bitter Lakes, of which the northern end is only fourteen miles from Ismailia, so that the original Suez Canal, cut by the Egyptian Pharaohs, was much shorter than the present canal, as it merely connected the Pelusiac branch of the Nile with

the Bitter Lakes, and thus provided water communication from the Mediterranean to the Gulf of Suez. Traces of the ancient canal were found by the French engineers between Lake Timsah and the Bitter Lakes, when excavating the channel of the Suez Canal.

In former times, therefore, the western boundary of the desert between Egypt and Palestine was defined, first by the Pelusiac branch of the Nile; then a short length of open country to the north end of the Bitter Lakes; and, on the south, by the prolongation of the Gulf of Suez up to these lakes. All the roads coming from the east met near the centre of this line, and then led westwards through the Land of Goshen, now called the Wady Tumilat, to Heliopolis and Memphis. Of these roads, the three principal were as follows: first, the northern road, called in the Bible the Way of the Philistines, which led along the coast of the Mediterranean from Gaza to Pelusium, and thence south-west by the Pelusiac arm of the Nile; second, the central road, or Way of Shur, which, starting from Beersheba in southern Palestine, crossed the desert in a nearly direct western line; and third, the south road, or Way of the Red Sea, from Akaba to Suez, and then along the prolongation of the Gulf of Suez to the Bitter Lakes, to the north of which it joined the other roads into the Delta. Of these roads the northern has always been the most generally used, as it was better supplied with water than the others.

Communication between Egypt and Palestine must have existed from a remote period, but the Pharaohs of the earlier dynasties do not appear to have attempted conquests in Asia, and were content with their Egyptian dominions, which they ruled from the capitals of Memphis and Thebes; nor, on the other hand, did the more ancient Asiatic monarchies invade Egypt with a view to its subjugation; but it is probable that emigrants from the east crossed the desert and settled in the Delta, then a newly formed and very fertile country, where they established communities more or less independent of the native rulers of Upper Egypt. Then, as time went on, the Asiatic settlers increased in numbers, until at length at some date—not yet fixed with certainty, but possibly about 2000 B.C.—they shook off the yoke of the Pharaohs, and established the first of the succession of Egyptian dynasties known in history as the Hyksos or Shepherd Kings, who ruled in the Delta for some centuries, and appear to have had their principal capital at San, or Tanis, the Zoan of the Bible, the remains of which are still to

be seen at the mounds of San el-Hagar, which lie about thirty miles west of El Kantara on the Suez Canal.

It was during the time of the Hyksos domination that the patriarch Abraham visited Egypt, that Joseph was purchased as a slave by the captain of the king's guard and rose to high position in the state, and that Jacob with his family and followers settled in the Land of Goshen, the district which, as has already been explained, lay along the Pelusiac branch of the Nile. It is quite in accord with the history of the period that the Pharaohs of the Delta should have been well disposed towards them, being Asiatics like themselves, and that, so long as the Hyksos ruled Egypt, the descendants of Jacob lived in peace and prosperity in the district which had been allotted to them during the viceroyalty of Joseph.

But, in process of time, another king, or rather dynasty of kings, arose, who knew not Joseph. After years of submission to the Asiatic settlers, the Egyptians rose in revolt against their rulers in the Delta, and about 1600 B.C. subdued the Hyksos, and, after a long struggle, re-established the native Egyptian monarchy. The capital of the new dynasty, known as the XVIIIth, was fixed at Thebes, and Tanis became a city of secondary importance. And not only did the Pharaohs of the XVIIIth dynasty overcome the rulers of the Delta, but they also followed up the conquest, and King Thothmes crossed the desert with a great army, and made Palestine for the first time a province of Egypt. An interesting light is thrown upon this period, when Palestine was a dependency of Egypt, by the collection of letters written in cuneiform, found at Tel el-Amarna in Upper Egypt, a number of which are from governors of towns in Palestine to the Egyptian kings.

Towards the end of the XVIIIth or beginning of the XIXth dynasty, Egyptian authority in Palestine dwindled away, and the latter country again came under Asiatic influence. At the same time the Egyptian kings began to treat the Asiatics in the Delta with greater severity, and, under Rameses II of the XIXth dynasty, the Israelites were reduced to the position of slaves, so that naturally their thoughts turned to their country of origin, and they were ready to leave Egypt as soon as a leader appeared capable of guiding them across the desert to the Land of Canaan.

This duty fell to Moses, who had served in the Egyptian army, and had commanded an expedition to the Sudan, where he had the advantage of gaining experience in the art of campaigning—

experience which must have been of great value to him when guiding an ill-disciplined and troublesome host through a nearly waterless desert. Gathering the Israelites together at the east end of the Land of Goshen, he brought them to the edge of the desert, and then, being pursued by an Egyptian army, turned south between the mountains and the Bitter Lakes, which at that time formed the north part of the Gulf of Suez. Crossing the Gulf at a point probably between what are known as the Great and Little Bitter Lakes, he followed the southern road, which has already been described, and then turned south-east to Mount Sinai. But it was "forty" years—that stately phrase with which the Eastern chronicler rounds off an uncertain point—before the people finally entered into Canaan, and during that period they remained in the desert, proving that there was a sufficient, if not a large, water supply.

At the commencement of the XXth dynasty the Asiatics once more attempted to conquer Egypt, and, in the reign of Rameses III, a large force appears to have marched from Palestine along the coast, supported by a fleet, probably Phoenician or Philistine, when a battle was fought near the entrance to the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, in which the Egyptians were victorious, and defeated the invaders, following them up into Syria. But, on this occasion, the Egyptians do not appear to have attempted to bring Palestine again under the domination of Egypt, and when the Israelites crossed the Jordan after their term in the desert, they found the country in the possession of the native Canaanites and the Philistine foreigners, who had come from oversea, possibly from the islands of the Aegean. Sea power had begun to make itself felt in the eastern Mediterranean, and it is probable that the Egyptian kings realised that it was not possible to keep a firm hold on Palestine so long as the sea was in the hands of a ship-owning people, a condition of affairs that holds good to the present day.

The succeeding years brought troublous times to Egypt, and the kings who succeeded Rameses III gradually lost power. The last of his dynasty appears to have fled to the Sudan, and Thebes ceased to be the capital of Egypt, its place being taken by Tanis in the Delta, which again became a city of importance. From that time forward the Delta had the principal authority, while Upper Egypt was reduced to the position of a province, and, as a natural result, relations with Asia became more intimate.

Sheshenk of the XXIInd dynasty, the Shishak of the Bible, was the next Pharaoh to invade Palestine, and, according to Josephus, he led across the desert an army composed of 60,000 cavalry and 400,000 infantry with 1,200 war chariots, which may be regarded as the ancient representation of modern artillery. The numbers are orientally exaggerated; but it is clear that he had a large force, and that they had no difficulty in passing the desert. Rehoboam was then king of Judah, and appears to have been quite incapable of making a stand against the Egyptians, as the cities of southern Palestine fell without fighting, and Jerusalem was only saved by the surrender of all the treasures of the royal palace and temple. There is an interesting record of this expedition on the south wall of the great hall at Karnak, where the names of 150 cities captured by Shishak are included in a hieroglyphic account of the campaign.

The next invasion of Palestine was less successful when Osorkon (Zerah) crossed the desert with a large army, and was completely defeated by Asa, king of Judah, at Mareshah, a place about twenty miles inland from Ascalon. The defeat had a decisive effect, as no further attempt to invade Palestine from Egypt appears to have been made for about two hundred years.

During that period the power of the Assyrian monarchy on the Euphrates had steadily increased, the Assyrian armies marched into Syria, and the kingdom of Israel and Judah became tributary states. Then the people of Palestine asked the Egyptians to come to their assistance, and for many years (from about 740 B.C. to 670 B.C.) there was war between Assyria and Egypt, during which the armies of both nations crossed and recrossed the desert, and fought in many battles with varying success, until in 670 B.C. Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, invaded Egypt and captured the city of Memphis, while Tirhakah, king of Egypt, fled to the south. Then Egypt became an Assyrian province. But the Assyrian rule was short-lived, as, a few years later, Psammetichus, the governor of Sais, rose in revolt and drove the Assyrians out of Egypt, following them up into Palestine; his son, Necho, continued the war, and, at the battle of Megiddo, defeated and killed Josiah, king of Judah, who had taken up arms for his Assyrian suzerain. Then Necho advanced north, and was defeated at Carchemish on the Euphrates, when the Egyptians had to retreat to their own country, and Palestine fell again under the domination of Babylon.

In 528 B.C. Babylon was captured by Cyrus, and the Assyrian monarchy came to an end, all its possessions being annexed by Persia. Cambyses, the son and successor of Cyrus, decided to invade Egypt and assembled an army in southern Palestine for that purpose, making arrangements for crossing the desert, of which Herodotus gives an interesting description, as it shows that then, as at the present time, the provision of a water supply was the main difficulty. Herodotus says that there was three days' journey across the desert without a drop of water, and that Cambyses made a treaty with the Arabian king, or, as we would call him, the head sheikh of the Bedouin, to furnish a supply. Then the historian goes on to relate that the Arabian contrived as follows:

"He filled a number of camels' skins with water, and loading therewith all the live camels that he possessed, drove them into the desert, and awaited the coming of the army. This is the more likely of the two tales that are told. The other is an improbable story, but, as it is related, I think that I ought not to pass it by. There is a great river in Arabia, called the Corys, which empties itself into the Erythraean Sea. The Arabian king, they say, made a pipe of the skins of oxen and other beasts, reaching from this river all the way to the desert, and so brought the water to certain cisterns, which he had dug in the desert to receive it. It is a twelve days' journey from the river to this desert tract. And the water, they say, was brought through three different pipes to three separate places."

Herodotus also describes the arrangement made by Cambyses for keeping up a permanent water supply in the desert, for the convenience of troops and others passing through, in these words:—

"I shall now mention a thing of which few of those who sail to Egypt are aware. Twice a year wine is brought into Egypt from every part of Greece, as well as from Phoenicia, in earthen jars; and yet in the whole country you will nowhere see, as I may say, a single jar. What then, everyone will ask, becomes of the jars? This, too, I will clear up. The governor of each town has to collect all the wine jars within his district, and to carry them to Memphis, where they are all filled with water by the Memphians, who then convey them to this desert track of Syria. And so it comes to

pass that all the jars which enter Egypt year by year, and are then put up for sale, find their way into Syria, whither all the old jars have gone before them. This way of keeping the passage into Egypt fit for use by storing water there, was begun by the Persians so soon as they became masters of that country."

It is probable that a similar arrangement has been provided by the Turkish Army now attempting the invasion of Egypt, except that the place of the wine jars would be taken by sheet-iron vessels.

After crossing the desert, Cambyses defeated the Egyptian Army in a great battle near Pelusium, and laid siege to Memphis, which surrendered. Then the whole of Egypt was subdued and became a province of Persia for more than a century, when the people revolted and re-established a native dynasty; some years later Artaxerxes Ochus, king of Persia, re-conquered it, and since then, Egypt has never been under native rulers.

Just as the Assyrian monarchy had fallen before Cyrus the Persian, so the Persian fell before Alexander the Macedonian, who made himself master of the near East, marched through Syria and Palestine to Egypt, and founded the city of Alexandria as the new capital. When, after his death, the Macedonian Empire was divided, Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, made himself king of Egypt, while Antigonus took Syria and the adjoining countries, and, for many years, Palestine was the battlefield between Syria and Egypt, until the reign of King Antiochus the Great, who captured it for Syria. An attempt on the part of one of his successors to invade Egypt was stopped by the Roman Senate, and, from that time forward, the latter country came under the power of Rome, while Palestine also was made a Roman province some years later.

The next invasion of Egypt from the east was in A.D. 268, when Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra, brought a large army across the desert and defeated the Roman garrison in the Delta, which she held for a few years until her city of Palmyra was captured by the Emperor Aurelian, and she was made prisoner by the Romans.

Then for some years both Egypt and Palestine remained as provinces, first of the western Empire with its capital at Rome, and then of the eastern, with the capital at Constantinople, until A.D. 620, when Chosroes, king of Persia, invaded Syria, captured Damascus and Jerusalem, and, crossing the desert, took possession

of Egypt, which again became a Persian province for ten years, after which the Emperor Heraclius defeated Chosroes, and Egypt and Palestine came under the power of Constantinople. But a few years later they again changed masters and were conquered by the followers of Mohammed from Arabia, when both countries became a part of the dominions of the Khalifs, and were ruled by governors appointed from Bagdad. One of these governors of Egypt, in A.D. 868, Ahmed ibn Tulun, revolted, and, having made himself independent, captured Palestine and Syria, and established a dynasty which lasted about forty years, when the Khalif Moktafi sent an army and reconquered Egypt.

In A.D. 969, el-Moizz, the first of the Fatimite Khalifs, subdued Egypt and Palestine, and it was a governor appointed from Egypt who was in command at Jerusalem when it was captured by Godfrey de Bouillon and the Crusaders in A.D. 1099. Then Palestine was separated from Egypt and became part of the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem, until Salah ed-Din, better known as Saladin, made himself Sultan of Egypt, and took possession of Syria and Palestine, defeating the Christians in A.D. 1187, and leaving to them only a narrow fringe of territory along the coast, from which they were finally expelled in A.D. 1291 by el-Ashraf Khalil, another Sultan of Egypt.

Then Palestine remained a dependency of Egypt until A.D. 1516, when the Turkish Sultan, Selim I, extended the Ottoman Empire to the south, defeated and killed Sultan Kansuh el-Ghury at the battle of Marg Dabik near Aleppo and advanced into Egypt. Then Egypt, Syria, and Palestine became provinces of the Ottoman Empire, and have so remained for four centuries.

During that period there have been two noteworthy crossings of the desert. The first in 1798, when Napoleon, after subduing Egypt, led an army of 14,000 men, cavalry, artillery, and infantry, into Palestine, but was compelled to retreat in consequence of the support given by the British fleet to the garrison of Acre; the second in 1831, when Mohamed Ali, the Turkish governor of Egypt, declared his independence of Constantinople, and sent a force under his son Ibrahim to take possession of Palestine and Syria. The Turks were defeated, but the western Powers of Europe intervened, and compelled Mohamed Ali to acknowledge the Sultan as his master, when Palestine was once more separated from Egypt and was placed under a governor sent from Constantinople.

The history of the past proves two facts clearly :—

1. That the desert separating Egypt from Palestine has never been a serious obstacle to a properly equipped and well-led army advancing in either direction.

2. That from the earliest times, with the exception of some comparatively short intervals, Palestine has been a dependency of Egypt, or else Egypt and Palestine have both been provinces of the same empire, whether that empire was Assyrian, Persian, Greek, Roman, Arab, or Turkish.

It is interesting to consider how the lessons to be learned from history can be applied to the condition of affairs at present, when the Ottoman Empire shows signs of breaking up and the future disposition of its component parts may have to be settled.

As regards the invasion of Egypt from Palestine, it is probable that the danger is not great, because, so far as it is possible to judge from the small amount of information allowed to be published, the Turkish army of attack appears to be neither well organised nor well led, and the Bedouin of the desert, although very accessible to bribery, and always prepared to join the winning side, have no great love for the Turks, and would doubtless be prepared to throw in their lot with Egypt if they thought it was for their advantage. It is reasonable also to assume that the Anglo-Egyptian garrison is quite capable of saving Egypt from invasion.

But a question which may have to be settled before long is a serious one. What is to be the future of Palestine? Some people suggest the establishment of a Jewish power, and others that it should become a dependency of one of the western States of Europe. As regards the former I have not seen it stated whether it is proposed to set up a Jewish kingdom or a Jewish republic, nor how the king or president would be selected. It is a little difficult to get figures of any great accuracy, but there appears to be no question that the bulk of the inhabitants of Palestine are Mohammedan, while, of the remainder, the majority are Christians of one denomination or another, and the minority are Jews, except in certain places such as Jerusalem. Is it reasonable to suppose that the Mohammedans and the Christians would submit to be governed by Jews? It must be remembered too that the Jews, notwithstanding their admirable qualities, have, with rare exceptions such as Moses and David, never shown much capacity for government, and to expect them suddenly to develop such capacity is a vain dream.

It is probable, judging from the history of the past, that if an attempt were made to set up a Jewish government in Palestine, there would be a revolt in a short time, and the Jewish rulers would be expelled unless supported by the armed force of some foreign power.

Then as regards the possibility of some European State taking over Palestine as a dependency or colony, it is difficult to see what Power could do it with the consent of the other Powers. There can be no doubt that for some years past the German Government has decided that Palestine was to be annexed by Germany, and the German buildings, erected within the last few years in Jerusalem, though ostensibly built for religious and charitable purposes, have evidently been designed for military use also; the sanatorium on the Mount of Olives, the great hospice of St. Paul at the Damascus Gate, and the convent of St. Mary on Mount Sion, all occupy important strategical positions for maintaining a hold upon the city. But, unless Germany succeeded in defeating England, France, and Russia in the present war, those Powers would certainly not consent to a German occupation of Palestine, and such an occupation would be very distasteful to the inhabitants, who dislike the Germans and German methods.

Again it would appear undesirable that either France or Russia should take possession of Palestine on account of the hostility between the Greek and Latin churches, which has lasted for at least thirteen centuries. It is perhaps sad to acknowledge it, but there can be no question that it is the fact that a Mohammedan Power rules in Palestine which alone keeps the followers of the two Churches more or less at peace with one another.

Of the western Powers the one that would have most chance of maintaining order in Palestine would be England, and, if a poll of the inhabitants could be taken, there can be little doubt that England would get the largest number of votes; but there is probably nothing that a British Government would like less than to take the place of Turkey, and to add Palestine to the British Empire.

The solution of the question which would appear most likely to be attended with success might be to take a lesson from history and to make Palestine once more a province of Egypt. After a lapse of four centuries the Sultanate of Egypt has been restored under what appear to be exceptionally favourable conditions, and, as Palestine

belonged to Egypt at the time of the Turkish conquest in A.D. 1516, it would be reasonable that it should again belong to Egypt on the restoration of the Sultanate. It must not be forgotten that the inhabitants of Palestine look with envy on the treatment which the Egyptians have received during the last thirty-three years, and are perfectly aware that the latter are ruled with justice and taxed with fairness. As Egypt is Mohammedan there would be no religious difficulty, while Christians and Jews would, as in Egypt, be treated with due consideration.

If this desirable conclusion could be arrived at and Palestine again annexed to Egypt, it would be necessary to improve the communication between the two countries, and this could easily be done by the construction of a railway from Port Said to Gaza, and thence north to join the Jaffa-Jerusalem and the Haifa-Jordan railways. It is easy to understand that, while Palestine was directly under Turkey, there were objections to the construction of such a railway; but if the two countries are joined as proposed, these objections would disappear, and the advantage to Palestine of having an excellent harbour, like Port Said, would be very great, as, at present, there is no good port between Port Said and Beyrout. Efforts are being made at present to improve the roadstead at Haifa, and for years the construction of a safe port at Jaffa has been under consideration; but neither of these places could be made, even with a large expenditure of money, as satisfactory as Port Said, while the railway from it would have an excellent effect on the development of Palestine if the latter country had the advantage of a good system of government such as Egypt is fortunate to possess at the present time, and the fact that Egypt is under the protection of England, and can depend on British sea power, would ensure the coast of Palestine from any attempt to interfere with it.

THE ELEPHANTINE PAPYRI AS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

By Joseph Offord.

(*Concluded from Q.S., April, p.* 80.)

At Elephantine these Jews coupled with Bethel a feminine deity —Ashima. This goddess is duly mentioned in Kings, and probably also in Amos; and, consistently with the environment of these heathen divinities, is associated with Yahu. The Biblical writer clearly connects her cult in Palestine with Bethel of Ephraim.[1] He writes (2 Kings xvii, 28) that one of the priests of Samaria "returned to Bethel and taught them how they should fear the Lord. Howbeit, every nation made gods of their own, and put them in the Samaritan high places, the men of Hamath made Ashima . . ."

This deity is connected with the feminine Syrian Sima, child of Hadad and Atargatis.[2]

[1] 2 Kings xvii, 28–30. In *Expository Times*, 1911, p. 73, Prof. Hommel discusses Ashima. He reads *Ashmat* in Amos viii, 14, "They that swear by Ashmat of Samaria, and say 'as thy god O Dan liveth.'" The Ashima אשימא of Kings is Ἀσιμὰθ in the LXX, which shows that the translators knew it to be a goddess, and so gave it the Hebrew feminine termination.

[2] No. 6669 of Vol. III of the *Corpus of Latin Inscriptions*, a text from Syria, reads Iunonis Fil . . . Iovis Sim(ae). Another Greek inscription in *Revue Archéologique*, 1898, I, p. 39, reads Σημία. Another, found at Emesa, CЄM(ЄA or A). A man in a Greek inscription (*Corpus Inscr. Graec.*, 9892), a Syrian, was called Ἀβεδσεμίος = עבדשימי, servant of Simi. Lucian, *De Dea Syria* speaks of a deity, Σημήιον, and Melito in his "Apology," mentions Sime, or Seme. See also on a Hauran inscription Ἀμασσημία = אמתשימי. The Samarian triad, Bethel, Anat, and Ashima, may be equated with the later Syrian Hadad, Atargatis and Sima. Dr Ungnad, however, considers it to be improbable that the late deity Sima is connected with Ashima, or rather the 'Ašm of the papyri. He thinks that a preferable parentage for 'Ašm would be Ishum, the Babylonian deity of fire, comparing the Hebrew word *'Esh* "fire," and quoting 1 Kings xviii, 38, "The fire of the Lord fell," and Habakkuk iii, 5, "Burning coals went forth at his feet."

It is interesting to note that in 2 Chronicles xxviii, 13, M. René Dussaud would read that the Ephraimites cried out: "Ashima Yahu (אשמת יהוה) is against us."

Anat was goddess of the Palestine town of Anathoth, and of Beth Anath and Beth Anoth of Joshua, close to Bethel, and this may account for her being reverenced at Yeb.[1]

She was probably female counterpart as Anatu of Anu, or Anum, the Babylonian god of heaven; and so called, as we shall immediately see, "queen of heaven." She is known to be a Syrian deity, from Phoenician inscriptions.[2] This worship of a goddess by the Jews was only too well known to Jeremiah as the common crime of his people then resident in Egypt; and many of the evil doers were women, as he specially, and the papyri, set forth.[3]

His remonstrances to them were useless, they defied him: "We certainly will burn incense and pour out drink offerings to the queen of heaven as we have done, and our fathers, in the cities of Judah and Jerusalem."[4] The idolatry had, therefore, in the past spread from the north to Mount Zion, as is absolutely confirmed by the Book of Kings (xxiii, 13), wherein we read of an image of Ashtoreth (or Astarte), the Sidonian Phoenician Sky-queen, having to be turned out of the Temple as late as the time of Josiah.[5]

Much of the evil doubtless arose from the mixed blood of the so-called Jews of the capital. Ezekiel (xvi, 3) says plainly of some of the populace: "Thy nativity was of the land of Canaan, your father an Amorite, and your mother a Hittite." Zephaniah takes

[1] Anu was "heaven" in Babylonian, and so Anatu, the feminine, meant "queen of heaven." The Bethany, of New Testament, may be "Shrine of Anath."

[2] Esarhaddon's Annals mention one Abd-Milkutti, king of Sidon. This theophoric name may be "servant of the queen of heaven," a plural of majesty for Milkat, queen.

[3] Jeremiah xliv, 15: "Then the men who knew their wives had burned incense to other gods, even all the people dwelling in Egypt, in Pathros (Upper Egypt), answered Jeremiah, saying, we certainly will," etc., etc.; also in the 9th verse "Have you forgotten the wickedness your wives committed in Judah and Jerusalem?"

[4] A Carthage tomb inscription reads: "Grave of Ger-astarte, priestess of our Lady." This Notre Dame is the Coelestis, the Punic "heaven virgin," Tanit.

[5] As late as Ezekiel's time Jewish women wailed for Tammuz, even "in the house of the Lord" (viii, 14). One of the stellar cults was that of מַזָּלוֹת, *Mazzālōth*, probably the Zodiacal signs.

up the cry against idolatry (i, 5): "They that worship the host of heaven upon the house-tops." Jeremiah (xliv, 9) asks of the Hebrews in Egypt if they had forgotten the sins which they and their wives had committed in Judah and Jerusalem, and (in xix, 13) he confirms Zephaniah as to incense burning and libation offerings to the heavenly host and foreign gods.[1] These illicit pagan cults seem to have culminated in a subterranean shrine, like the Mithraic caves of later times, which Ezekiel (viii, 7–12) found in Jerusalem decorated with bas-reliefs of idols. In it were men of the highest Hebrew families burning incense, one bearing the loyal theophoric name of Jaazaniah; and another, Shaphan, the "coney," has an appropriate one for such a cavernous cult.

The worship of the queen of heaven at Jerusalem was no mere boast of the idolatrous ladies, for Jeremiah (viii, 18) says: that "in the cities of Judah, and even Jerusalem's streets, they made cakes to the queen of heaven"—the counterpart of the Isiac cakes of Egypt, and forefathers of our hot cross buns. The cult of this Canaanite and Phoenician goddess has recently been much illuminated by an inscription from Tyre giving her the title of Astronoe (*see* the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 1911, p. 332). Thus the whole forty-fourth chapter of Jeremiah is illuminated by means of these papyri.[2]

[1] It is interesting to note the verse in Jeremiah (x, 11) condemning the worship of other gods, such as Ashima: "The gods that have not made the heavens and the earth, these shall perish from the earth and from under these heavens." It is written in Aramaic, as if specially aimed at some Aramaic-using Jews, such as those at Yeb. It is this verse that employs two words for earth, *arḳa* and *ar'a*; found among the Elephantine papyri. The curious instance of the non-winedrinking Rechabites, of Jeremiah xxxv, who are there said to have "gone after other gods," may mean they worshipped the Arabian deity, Shaï-al-ḳum, "The God who drank no wine." There is a deity R-kb-el mentioned in an Aramaic inscription at Zenjirli, but whether he has any connection with the Rechabites is unknown.

[2] Chapters xlii and xliii are also a series of protests, after the capture of Jerusalem, against Hebrews dwelling in Egypt. Jeremiah curses any who should go: "Then it shall come to pass the sword you fear shall overtake you in Egypt, and the famine follow you, and there shall you die. O, remnant of Judah, go not into Egypt" (xlii, 16); xliv, 12, is in the same strain. As early as Jeremiah ii, 18, the prophet writes, after alluding to the Jewish settlements, Noph and Tahpanhes: "and now what hast thou to do with the way of Egypt to drink the waters of Sihor?"—a reference to the eastern branch of the Nile which had to be crossed going from Judaea to Egypt. Later in Zedekiah's reign Jeremiah threatens: "thus saith the Lord, so will I give up the residue of

A list of subscriptions of two shekels each, for support of the Yeb temple, shows that women paid as well as the men; and whilst 123 shekels are earmarked for Jehovah or Yahu, no less than 190 are devoted to the two other deities. They probably, however, included other Palestine people than pure Jews or Judahites, such as Samaritans and Ephraimites. These may also have reverenced Yahu, but even if so, they were polytheists all the same, and they appear in some cases to have thought higher of Anat, Ashima, and Bethel. It would seem that a number of these folk came from North Palestine, where Bethel was a holy place, because gods mentioned, other than Yahu, have titles compounded with Bethel.[1]

It may be suggested that as these papyrus writings are in Aramaic, their authors were not Jews but Syrians, who would reverence various deities, or that they were Samaritans, who would not object to multiple Yahweh shrines, because they possessed one such upon Mount Gerizim. But a study of the documents decides absolutely that many were Jews. It should be remembered, too, that parts of the Books of Daniel and Ezra are known only in Aramaic,[2] whilst it is still more remarkable that a single sporadic Aramaic verse appears in Jeremiah x, 11. In this verse some critics had argued that the words for "earth" were later than the assigned date of Jeremiah, and that this part of his book must have been produced subsequent to his era. We now see, by means of the new-found writings, that these very words (*arḳā* and *ar'a*) were in usage in the papyrus texts as early as the fifth century B.C.[3]

That there were genuine Jews at Aswan is proved also by an

Jerusalem, and them that dwell in the land of Egypt" (xxiv, 8). He himself may have been in Egypt for he alludes (in xlvi, 11) to the recipes of their medical papyri, several manuscripts of which we now have. He calls Egypt a heifer, alluding to the Hathor cow deity of Thebes. In verse 21 he makes an interesting comment on the common Egyptian practice, so often fatal to her, of employing mercenary troops: "Her hired men turned and fled away." Verse 9 specifies these condottieri as Lydians, Ethiopians, and Lybians. Urijah, whose views were identical with Jeremiah's, finding them unpopular, fled to Egypt. The intercourse between the two nations was, however, so intimate that the Egyptian police permitted Jehoiakim to send men and fetch Urijah away to his doom, as if there were some extradition treaty.

[1] 1 Kings xii, 29, says that Jeroboam placed another calf statue at Dan.

[2] *Cf.* Ezra iv, 7, where Jews send an Aramaic letter to Artaxerxes.

[3] See above, p. 140, n. 1.

Aramaic inscription found there, dated in the 7th year of Artaxerxes, wherein a certain Abd-marna calls himself Chief of the garrison, and the internal evidence of the new manuscripts shows that the majority of the Jews referred to therein were soldiers. Moreover, the Yeb papyri several times call the people Jehudin, and term their men the Jewish army, or guard.[1] In connexion with this fact it is interesting to note that two common words for military matters in Egyptian are identical with Hebrew ones.[2] These are *N-'-r-n*, "warriors," Hebrew *nĕʿārīm* (נערים) and *D-b-i*, "army" (צבא). It would seem that Jewish troops had been so often employed that Hebrew terms connected with hostilities were imported into the Egyptian lexicon.

The information derivable from the papyri themselves tends to prove that their cousins, the Jerusalem Jews, considered that the worships being carried on at Yeb were illegitimate. Probably they took this view, not only because for them no shrine to Jehovah should exist outside Sion, but also on account of the association at Elephantine of other deities as a cortège to Jehovah. For this cause, the first petition for reinstatement of the Yeb edifice, which was addressed to Bagoas, Peḥah, or Satrap of Palestine, Yohanan the High Priest, and Ostan, brother of Anani, a Jewish notable, never received any reply. It may be surmised that this result was more because of the semi-polytheistic cult of the Yeb garrison than merely for the reason that Yohanan was rigidly opposed to an extra Palestinian temple to Jehovah. For he was not likely to have been hyper-conservative, his grandfather, Eliashib, having, when High Priest, permitted Tobiah, an abhorrence to the single-temple party, to re-enter the sacred courts; notwithstanding that Ezra had obtained the exclusion of Tobiah, and of his mother because she was an Ammonite. Also Yohanan's brother had married Sanballat's daughter. Sanballat was not a person of rigid views, for, because of his latitudinarianism, Nehemiah expelled one of his sons-in-law, Manasseh, from the temple precincts.

Conscious that their unorthodoxies had precluded success for

[1] *Cf.* Zephaniah's mention of Ethiopian warfare, Zephaniah ii, 12. A little later, the Jews were used as soldiers by Ptolemy Soter, who after his victory at Gaza, not only placed a Jewish colony at Alexandria but allotted Jews as garrison to various fortified places in Egypt, according to Josephus.

[2] See Alan H. Gardiner on *Papyrus Anastasi I, The Travels of a Mohar and the Hebrew Old Testament.*

their first petition,[1] the Yeb council forwarded a second one to Bagoas, as Persian governor responsible for Jews under the Empire, and not to anyone at Jerusalem except the two sons of Sanballat, ruler of Samaria. They were doubtless selected because many of the Yeb people were Samaritans, and also knowing that Delaiah and Shemaiah were not strict single-shrine adherents. Their names, however, "Yahweh has freed" and "Yahweh heareth," suggest that, although Nehemiah complained of his being a Horonite, Sanballat worshipped the Hebrew God.[2]

The reply to the second application tends to confirm these views. It gave permission concerning the "altar house of the God of heaven," not "the house of God," but that of the—or of an—altar of God, as if these terms were used to conciliate the stricter Palestine Jews, who had given no help to the first petition because they deemed the whole Yeb temple cult unorthodox. Moreover, the permit only granted them leave for presenting meal offerings and frankincense. The immolations of animals, such a chief portion of the Jehovah ritual, and which the Yeb officiants had carried on before, were refused. Thus the Egyptian sacrifices would never completely rival those of Jerusalem, and the exasperation of the native Egyptian population because of the sacrifice of animals whom they worshipped, particularly Khnoum, the sheep (or ram) god, would not recur.

An interesting matter connected with the Old Testament is that the papyri use the Babylonian names for the months. Zechariah and Esther (post-Exilic books) give both the older numbers for the month and the Babylonian names also. Nehemiah gives the foreign names except once, when referring to a Hebrew function of Ezra's, where we have the month's number. Esther and Zechariah employ duplicate titles, thus showing that in their time the two forms for the calendar were familiar to them, viz., the Jewish, in which the lunar months had each its number, and the Babylonian, used officially at their era (the Persian) in Judea and also at Yeb, with names for each month. Practically Nehemiah, being a semi-official of Persia, employs only the Mesopotamian names, and the

[1] The Yeb colony must have gone to great expense to secure cedarwood for their temple roof, so as to imitate the building at Jerusalem. Acacia, used largely for the Egyptian temples, these Jews evidently considered unworthy of Yahu.

[2] The writing of Sanballat's name in the papyri (Sanaballat) is a more correct transcription of the Assrian Sinuballit.

same are used in the Elephantine texts. This is strong proof that the previous Old Testament books, including Deuteronomy, were all composed before the Captivity.

If much of the Mosaic law, as some German critics contend, is of Babylonian origin, why does the Pentateuch know nothing of the month-names used among the people from which its codes were derived?

One or two scholars have argued that the papyri are forgeries. Their internal evidence, however, renders this view untenable. For instance, one of the documents is a duplicate, in Aramaic, of the Babylonian version of the trilingual decree of Darius, engraved by his orders upon the Rock at Behistun. (By means of the new papyrus text we can now decide definitely a matter which was doubtful before, that the name of the month in which the revolters were defeated was Tammuz.) Again, a Persian term for a weight hitherto known only in that language, Karasha, occurs in these memoranda. Many words previously mysterious in Ezra and Daniel now come to light as being common at their era. In Daniel iii, 2, there are titles of three Persian officials which are now explained, one of these, Databari, also occurs in late Assyrian or Perso-Assyrian tablets from Niffer. The strange word rendered "wall" in Ezra v, 3 and 9, occurs, as also a word used in Esther for a Persian royal edict, and פרתרך (an Iranian term for *fratara*) for "princes" in Esther i, 3; vi, 9; and Daniel i, 3.

In concluding this part of the subject some remarks recently made by Prof. Edouard Naville are particularly appropriate in reference to the question whether the Jews at Yeb may not have thought that their erection of a shrine to Jehovah abroad was a proper action. M. Naville points out that no fixed single and unchangeable place of residence for God in Palestine was set apart until Solomon's time, and this was in accordance with Jehovah's instructions. In Deuteronomy xii, 5, the Jews were foretold that it was not until they should have passed over Jordan, and subsequent thereto when later they had rest from their enemies there, that then "it shall come to pass that the Lord your God will choose a place for His Name to dwell and therein shalt thou offer," etc. Although, subsequently, the prophets told the Jews in Palestine that at Zion only should Jehovah be worshipped, and Deuteronomy indicates the same ultimate injunction, the Elephantine colonists may well have thought that, as they could not live in Palestine, they did no wrong

in having a temple of Yahu at Yeb. For, at a later era, they were in some respects still as were their ancestors when in the desert. They were also not dwelling over the Jordan or "resting in their inheritance," and so they may have considered themselves justified in doing what was right in their own eyes.[1]

So under these circumstances they thought it best, directly they found they would be permanently stationed at Elephantine, to build Jehovah a sanctuary. When in Assyria they did not do so because they were forcible captives, and God had promised they should return home. At Yeb, on the other hand, they were voluntary emigrants and intended to stay.[2]

It is worth adding that the idea among the Jewish Diaspora that it was legitimate to have a place of worship for Jehovah in Egypt, lasted well into the Christian era; for in the last of the Sibylline Books, V, lines 501, 502, occurs this passage: "And then, in Egypt, there shall be a great and holy temple, and to it the people whom God made shall bring sacrifices. To them God shall grant a life without decay." These words were written after the temple of Onias had been destroyed by Vespasian, probably in the reign of Hadrian.

[1] Deuteronomy xii, 8 *seq.*: "Ye shall not do after the things that we do here this day, every man what is right in his own eyes, for ye are not yet come to the inheritance which the Lord your God giveth to you."

[2] Père Lagrange, in the *Revue Biblique*, 1912, gives some interesting calculations as to the numbers of monotheistic Yahu worshippers and the polytheists at Yeb, which he acutely derives from the lists of subscribers to the temple funds, collected by Jedoniah. The sums are given in keresh and ordinary shekels: the keresh = 20 half (or ordinary) shekels. The polytheistic worship tribute amounted to 19 keresh, paid by the adherents of Ashmi-bethel or Anath-bethel, which reckoning two for each person, the allotted amount, makes 380 shekels for 190 persons. For Yahu 12 keresh (6 shekels) was paid, making 246 shekels for 123 of the faithful. He points out that Ashmi-bethel was certainly a divinity name because in Papyrus 24, l. 6, we have the name אשמבדרו. The non-orthodox residents therefore quite outnumbered the "Yahuists." One may add that Papyri Nos. 15 and 6 use the plural word "Gods," and that from another of the papyri we learn that the Yeb Jews, tattooed their slaves with a Yod, probably the initial of Yehudi, to prove Jewish ownership. This is contrary to the precept in Leviticus (xix, 28): "Ye shall not print any mark upon you."

NOTES AND QUERIES.

The Route of the Exodus.[1] . . . Dr. Driver's commentary on *Exodus* certainly gives a complete résumé of the available evidence, but still leaves undertermined the identity of Baal-Zephon, which I attempted to establish, as I think that it is the key to the controversy. In my sketch plan I had no idea of definitely showing the exact ancient boundaries of the Gulf of Suez, but merely wished to prove that it did extend further north than it does at present. As to Mr. Crace's surmise that Lake Timsah was fed by the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, I may mention the very conspicuous deposits of Nile mud visible in a recent cutting immediately north of Lake Timsah. However, I do not think it can have been the Pelusiac branch itself, unless it was an off-shoot of that branch starting from the Pelusiac branch well to the westward: possibly as far west as Tell Basta. In a chart of the canal published by the Canal Company in the eighties, the Tanitic branch of the Nile is indicated as passing by San (ancient Tanis) going north-eastward, skirting the south of the Island of Tennis (ancient Hanes), crossing the present site of the canal at kilometer 6 (from Port Said), and emptying itself into the sea at Omm Fareg. The Pelusiac branch is given as passing by Sethrun, crossing the canal at about kilometer 28, and emptying into the sea near Mahendia, where there are considerable remains of *circa* A.D. 400. Crossing the canal at about kilometer 40, there is a line of sand dunes running roughly north-east and south-west which, it is my belief, marks the south-eastern limit of the Nile delta at least to very ancient times. All to the north of this is dark, being unmistakably Nile mud, while to the southward it appears pure sand, though I have not seen any borings which might reveal mud deposits.

Two or three years ago M. Clédat, the Archaeologist belonging to the Canal Company, discovered at Kantarah an ancient sarcophagus,

[1] From a communication. See *Quarterly Statement*, January, pp. 22 *sqq.*, and April, p. 64 *sqq.*

the title of the occupant of which was given as "Lord of the Two Ports." Possibly it indicates the existence of an artificial canal joining Lake Timsah with the Pelusiac branch near Kantarah.

A few days ago I heard that in the course of trench digging near Kantarah some ancient remains had been found—coins and an amphora—at a place called Tell el-Ahmar, two miles east of Kantarah. I obtained permission from the General to visit the place and found some walls (brick) which indicated a fairly substantial house, there being a row of bases for columns along the south side, and a well-made brick conduit leading to a depression a couple of hundred yards away. I had not time to give it more than a very cursory examination, but hope to go there again shortly. However, I dug out a brick face.[1] It is made of very rough red pottery—that is to say, red on the back and front surfaces, but bluish in the centre. The face is, I think, merely a conventional face—possibly an ornament above a doorway or at the corner of a roof, though the fact that it is smooth and rounded at the back may indicate that it is part of an amphora, though I do not remember to have ever seen one ornamented in that style. The material is of exactly the same description as the double jar coffins found in the early Christian cemetery about a mile further west, where M. Clédat made some trial excavations about eighteen months ago.

VICTOR L. TRUMPER.

PORT SAID,
April 18th, 1915.

[1] [A photograph was sent and is at the offices of the Fund.—ED.]

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARABIC CONSONANTS.

HEBREW.

Hebrew.	English.	Hebrew.	English.
א	’	כ ך	kh
ב	b	ל	l
ב	bh	מ ם	m
ג	g	נ ן	n
ג	gh	ס	s
ד	d	ע	‘
ד	dh	פ ף	p
ה	h	פ ף	f
ו	v, w	צ ץ	z
ז	z	ק	k
ח	h	ר	r
ט	t	שׁ	sh
י	y	שׂ	s
כ ך	k	ת	t
		ת	th

ARABIC.

Arabic.	English.		Arabic.	English.
ا	’		ض	d
ب	b		ط	t
ت	t		ظ	tz
ث	th		ع	‘
ج	g	or j in Syrian Arabic.	غ	gh
ح	h		ف	f
خ	kh		ق	k
د	d		ك	k
ذ	dh		ل	l
ر	r		م	m
ز	z		ن	n
س	s		ه	h
ش	sh		و	w
ص	z		ي	y

Long vowels marked thus :—ā, ē, ī, ō, ū.

THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

It may be well to emphasize afresh -especially with the War Budget and the call for economy before us—the need for supporting those labours which, at a time like the present, perhaps do not seem to be of very pressing importance. But it must be recognized that just as conditions to-day have grown out of past conditions, so we to-day are helping to make the future what it will be. The fruits of labour, patience and organization may not always be seen immediately, but they make their appearance sooner or later. For example, it is easy to perceive how greatly the different countries of to-day are benefited or hampered by the result of the activities of preceding years. If Germany has gained by past years of careful organization in a great many fields, we in our turn realize that past sacrifices for our Empire found their reward when the children arose to help their mother. But it is especially in the world of knowledge that thorough and careful work repays itself, and often in a way that is not at once discernible, and it is on this account that the Palestine Exploration Fund claims continued support in view of what it has done, and what it has in preparation.

Surveying, map making, and all that contributes to a better knowledge of a country, its resources and its people are, as we plainly see, of enormous practical importance; and what has been achieved in the past by the P.E.F. has been helpful in many ways to causes which we value, and which need not be more particularly enumerated. Special mention, however, may be made of the fact that the Fund concentrates its work upon the illustration of the

Bible. Here the Fund can point to many profoundly important results—results which can be immediately perceived, and to many more results which have contributed rather more indirectly. Again and again it has happened that material which seemed uninteresting, useless, or too "specialistic," has proved to be a valuable contribution whether to the world of knowledge in general or to the particular aims of the Society. Indeed, the importance of the Fund is most conspicuously indicated by the fact that other countries have followed suit in founding similar Societies, or in pursuing Palestinian research upon the lines laid down by the pioneering Society.

———

It is true that present conditions do not permit field-work, but there is much to be done in the way of dealing with the material in hand and in preparing for the future. We must not be behind other peoples in the world of knowledge, and since it is now easy to see the mere impression made by keen research of all sorts, it is our duty to pursue our labours in accordance with the best traditions of English scholarship. Scientific labours such as the Fund undertakes are vital to the general well-being of a nation, and to its aims. This is doubly true when that nation has enormous responsibilities towards less "civilized" peoples, for in this case it must equip itself that it may be a blessing to races who are, mentally speaking, far more alert and awake than we usually imagine. Hence it is a duty to promote the progress of knowledge, sound in its scholarship and unimpeachable in its ethical value. We must unite to further a department of research which has already done so much to make the Bible alive and real. The work of the Fund in the land of the Bible has already brought a vast amount of light to bear upon the Bible, and thereby it has enabled us to recognize anew the permanent value of the Book. This is of more than ordinary importance at this age, and the Fund is entitled to appeal with confidence to all who have at heart the deeper and wider influence of the Bible and the increase of knowledge on sound and health-giving principles.

———

We are glad to be able to announce a new series of articles through the co-operation of Dr. E. W. Gurney Masterman and Prof. R. A. Stewart Macalister, the authors of the "Occasional Papers on the Modern Inhabitants of Palestine," *Q.S.*, 1905–6.

The present series will also deal with the modern inhabitants, but it takes for its subject the tales and traditions of Welys and Dervishes in Palestine. The observation has been repeatedly made that careful attention to the life and thought of the Palestine native is exceedingly important for the interpretation of Biblical, Rabbinical, and other literature. On the other hand, others have not failed to point out the danger of assuming off-hand that comparison between modern and ancient conditions is valid. The truth lies between the extremes of undue reliance and unnecessary scepticism. There are many significant resemblances between the past and the present, and there are many very striking differences. The Baals of old, the old local deities, find—in the opinion of many—their analogues in the modern Welys and saints; while in the Dervishes some writers have found a modern parallel to those bodies or schools of prophets to which the Old Testament refers. At all events, it is necessary to grasp carefully the resemblances and the differences, so that we may understand better both the modern land and the land of the Old Testament. Hence one result of the new series of articles will be to provide reliable material for comprehending more clearly the history of religious thought, the nature of popular tradition, and the general mental outlook of the ordinary Palestinian peasant. In this way it will be possible, among other things, to deal more fruitfully, not only with ancient Biblical problems, but also with the modern natives, their inveterate ideas, their psychical needs, and their difficulties.

Dr. Samuel Daiches, of Jews' College, London, gave a lecture before the College Union Society on "Lord Kitchener and his Work in Palestine." Reprinted, it forms an interesting little book which, the author hopes, "may contribute to a larger understanding of the character and capacity of one of the most prominent personalities of our time." The question Dr. Daiches asks is, where was developed Lord Kitchener's great gifts? Where did he, one of the world's master-minds, lay the foundation of his career? In reply he points to Kitchener's work in the exploration of Palestine, to the four years, between twenty-four and twenty-eight—years important in the life of every man—when Kitchener was conscientiously, laboriously, and brilliantly working upon Palestinian soil and enriching our knowledge of the land. "His industry, his firmness of purpose, his tact, his keen power of observation, his resourcefulness

in emergencies, all this we find in young Kitchener of nearly forty years ago. But we see something more. We see all these great qualities of Kitchener grow visibly during the time of his work in Palestine. The work in Palestine offered him the opportunities for developing and strengthening his great powers of mind and heart. . . . . He looked on the plain of Esdraelon, and he saw the vision of 'the last great battle of Armageddon.' Did he think then that Armageddon was so near? Did he think then that the great world-war was so near, and that battles might be fought in or near the plain of Armageddon? And did he think that he would be one of the great leaders of Armageddon? Who knows?" Dr. Daiches makes good use of the *Quarterly Statements* containing Lord Kitchener's reports, and other sources, and, altogether, produces a little book that many will be glad to read and ponder over.

In drawing attention to the books needed for the Library of the Fund, we may mention especially Lagarde's *Onomastica Sacra* (2nd ed., 1887), and the *Antonine Itinerary*. An edition of the latter by Parthey and Pindar was published at Berlin in 1847, see below, p. 164.

The New Survey: Double Annual for 1914–15.—The material resulting from the Survey of the Southern Country ("The Desert of the Wanderings") in the early part of 1914 proved to be more voluminous and more complete than could have been anticipated, seeing how short a time was available, owing to climate and other considerations. The whole Survey party must have worked with an energy and industry exceeding that of any previous expedition, notwithstanding the unusual difficulties which beset them from the nature of the country. The notes and descriptions of the various localities included are full and careful, and Messrs. Woolley and Lawrence are to be congratulated on having made them vivid and interesting, and on having secured so many and characteristic photographic illustrations as well as plans. The few inscriptions collected have been examined and carefully analysed by Mr. Marcus Tod, of Oxford. They are all personal memorials but afford some exact dates.

Altogether the amount of material largely exceeds what should suffice for a double volume of the *Annual—i.e.*, for two years. But, on careful consideration, the Committee thought that the reasons

for publishing the whole together and without undue delay were so strong that they felt compelled to disregard the strictly economical question, so far as subscribers are concerned, and to publish the whole as a double *Annual* for the years 1914–15.

The reasons for this course were :—

1. That the region is one which so greatly interests all Bible students.
2. That it has never previously been surveyed or systematically examined.
3. That it may never again be so thoroughly examined and reported on.
4. That the disturbed condition of all Europe makes it improbable that any work of excavation can be undertaken for the present.

The price of the book to the public outside the Society is 45*s*.

An account of the *Annual* will be found in the April issue of the *Q.S.*, pp. 61–63.

The Committee are bringing out a new edition of the ($\frac{3}{8}$ in. to the mile) Map of Western Palestine, of which the original edition has been for some time out of print. It is in six sheets, and will be, primarily, a travellers' map. The roads and railways constructed since the original survey have been added. For the sake of clearness, only the modern names are given. The hill shading is in a lighter tint for the same reason. All the country beyond that actually surveyed is shown in outline only. In a few years it may be possible to add much of this in a further edition. In the meantime, this is the clearest map and the easiest to consult of any yet issued by the Society. The price of the complete six sheets will be 7*s*. 6*d*. If desired, the map can be mounted on linen and a roller, or to fold. It will be ready for issue when the war permits.

The Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains many duplicate volumes, including standard works by Robinson, Ritter, Stanley and others. They may be had separately, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The Index to the *Quarterly Statements* previously published included the years from 1869 to 1892, and the need for its continuation to a more recent date has been greatly felt. Some of the most important of the discoveries and work of the Palestine Exploration Fund belong to later years. Such are the excavations of sites on and around Ophel, by Messrs. Bliss and Dickie, in the Shephelah, by Messrs. Bliss and Macalister, and the great work at Gezer, by Prof. Stewart Macalister, besides many valuable papers and discussions on the sites in Jerusalem and elsewhere. During the year 1911, the Committee decided to supplement the old Index by one which should include the completion of the work at Gezer, that is to say, from 1893 to 1910. The laborious task was undertaken by Mr. (now Prof.) Dickie, whose familiarity with the matter dealt with, and conscientious exactitude, have now enabled the Committee to publish it with confidence. Price in cloth, 5*s.*; unbound, 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Secretaries. The following gentlemen have kindly consented to act:—The Rev. J. H. Townsend, D.D., Casalita, Babbacombe, at Torquay; and Lieut. Victor L. Trumper, R.N.R., of Maison Perin, Port Said, at that place.

Plaster casts of the raised contour maps (large and small) of Jerusalem have been prepared and can now be had on application. The horizontal scale of the large map is $\frac{1}{2\,5\,0\,0}$ and the total dimensions are 5 feet by 4 feet 3 inches. The remains of the city walls and streets discovered on the Eastern and Western Hills are indicated in red lines. This map will be a most valuable help to the study of Jerusalem topography. Price £3 3*s.* Case and packing extra. The scale of the smaller map is $\frac{1}{1\,0\,0\,0\,0}$ and the size 20 inches square. Price without addition of early walls and streets £1 5*s.*

A new and improved edition of the large photo relief map of Palestine (5 miles = 1 inch) is now ready. Price 6*s.* 9*d.* unmounted. Mounted on cloth, roller, and varnished, 10*s.* 6*d.* Size, mounted, 30 inches by 52 inches.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

Subscribers who have not yet paid will greatly facilitate the Committee's efforts by sending in their subscriptions without further delay, and thus save the expense of sending out reminders.

Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Assistant Secretary, they are now published annually. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1914 was given in the Annual Report published with the April number.

Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, the last work of the late Major-General Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D., etc. In this work the late Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund has brought together for the first time all the evidence which the most exhaustive research enabled him to collect bearing on the subject of these Holy Sites; and probably no man living had at once so intimate a knowledge of all investigations in the modern Jerusalem and so complete an acquaintance with what has been written about the Sites from the time of Constantine onwards. The price of the work (demy 8vo) is 6*s.*, by post 6*s.* 4*d.*

A reprint of *Names and Places in the Old and New Testaments*, by the late Mr. George Armstrong, is now on sale, price 6*s.* The book was out of print for some years.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869–1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869–1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10*s*. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

Photographs of the late Dr. Schick's models (1) of the Temple of Solomon, (2) of the Herodian Temple, (3) of the Haram Area and Justinian's Church, and (4) of the Haram Area as it is at present, have been received at the office of the Fund. The four photographs, with an explanation by Dr. Schick, can be purchased by applying to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W., is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Prof. Lewis B. Paton, Ph.D., Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 50, Forest Street, Hartford, Conn.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks, among other journals and books, the following :—

Lord Kitchener and his Work in Palestine, by Dr. Samuel Daiches (Luzac : London, 1915, 2*s*. 6*d*.). See p. 157.

Studies : An Irish Quarterly Review of Letters, Philosophy and Science, Sept., 1915.

Transactions of the Royal Canadian Institute, May, 1915 : Articles on place-names, by P. J. Robinson and by J. B. Tyrrell : North-western Denes and North-eastern Asiatics, by Rev. Morice ; etc.

The Jewish Quarterly Review, July, 1915 : The Symbolism of the Shoe with special reference to Jewish Sources, by Dr. J. Nacht ; etc.

The Biblical World, June–July, 1915 : Archaeology and the Book of Genesis (*continued*), by L. B. Paton.

University of Pennsylvania : Publications of the Babylonian Section : Vol. IX, No. 1, Sumerian Business and Administrative Documents from the Earliest Times to the Dynasty of Agade, by G. A. Barton.

American Journal of Philology, Vol. XXXVI, 2.

American Journal of Archaeology, April June, 1915 : See below, p. 206.

Art and Archaeology, Vol. II, No. 1 : The Human Figure as an Architectural Support, by John Shapley ; Suppression of Vandalism in China, etc., etc.

The Homiletic Review, July, August, September, 1915.

Sphinx, Revue Critique, XIX, i and ii.

Échos d'Orient, July, 1915.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands.

The Committee desire to acknowledge with thanks the following contributions to the Library :—

From Mrs. Ross Scott :—

The Hill of Graces : The Trilithons and Megalithic Sites of Tripoli. By H. S. Cooper, F.S.A.

A Short History of the Egyptian Obelisks. By R. W. R. Cooper, F.R.A.S., M.R.A.S.

The New Israelite ; or Rabbi Shalom on the Shores of the Black Sea. By Jaakoff Prelooker.

From Mrs. C. R. Conder :—

The Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem : Volume of Notes and Plans. By Captain Charles Wilson, R.E.

From W. J. S. Sallaway, Esq. :—

Records of the Past : Being English Translations of the Assyrian and Egyptian Monuments. Vol. XII. Egyptian Texts.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Library any of the following books :—

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864) ; published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten.* (Leipzig, 1837.)

L. de Laborde, *Voyage de l'Arabie Pétrée* (1829).

Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

The Antonine Itinerary.—an edition by Parthey and Pindar was published in 1847 at Berlin. An edition in Russian is also extant, but is therefore not available save to the few who know that language.

For list of authorized lecturers and their subjects, see end of the Journal, or write to the Secretary.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of _____ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

THE IMMOVABLE EAST.

By Philip J. Baldensperger.

(*Continued from Q.S.*, 1915, p. 72.)

Clothes and Fashions.

If, on the contrary, we turn to the country and study the clothes there, no change whatever has taken place, or at least only some very insignificant items. Here we can reproduce the living picture of the Hebrews, omitting only the *tarbūsh*, which did not exist in its present form.

Fellaḥīn clothes: (*a*) The *thōb* is the unique and indispensable piece of clothing worn both by fellāḥ and fellāḥa, white for the former and blue for the latter. Both kinds, when loosened, reach the ground. They are shortened by the girdle, the men pulling them up to the middle of the calf, whilst the women let them hang naturally to the ankles. The *thōb* is a shirt of strong sheeting with very wide sleeves, open on the chest. It has a collar which is fastened by two little ribbons. There is generally a pocket at the side for light objects or papers. Boys have a short *thōb*, reaching to just above the knees, and young girls wear them as far down as the middle of the leg. The *thōb* is worn next to the skin, and as, generally, the fellahīn have but this one garment, they call it "clothes" in general. The plural is *thiāb*. The writer of the Pentateuch calls the first coats, which were made to cover Adam and Eve's nakedness, *kethōneth*. In his days the *kethōneth*, which was none other than the *thōb*, was made of cotton, whence, perhaps, the name; but he says: "And Jehovah made for Adam and his wife *kethōneths* of skin (or for nakedness) and clothed them" (Gen. iii, 21). The skin of the serpent when it changes is also called *thōb el-ḥeiyya*; other skins are called *jild*, or leather.

When parents are very fond of their children the mother embroiders the seams, the collar and the front borders with red designs or points, *cf.* the *kᵉthōneth passīm* of Joseph (Gen. xxxvii, 3), a sign of Jacob's preference for his youngest son. The *thōb*, again, is the one only garment which is rent in case of sorrow. Hushai

the Archite came to meet David with his *kethōneth* rent (2 Sam. xv, 32). There can be little doubt that the *kethōneth* was like the *thob*, when we consider Job's words (xxx, 18): "My disease bindeth me about as the collar of my *kethōneth*," (*k'fī kuttonti*, "as the opening or mouth of my *kethōneth*"). No other clothes have openings, except the *thōb*. The priests always had the *kethōneth*; other parts of clothing were only accessory.

(1) The *thiāb* of the men are always white; the women's are blue. In some villages—in coquetry—they have white *thiāb*, especially in the *Ftūh*, or Plain of Shāron, near Jaffa and Lydda, and in some villages north of Jerusalem, in the Beni Hārith district. These white *thiāb* are embroidered with red silk designs, about the neck, on the sleeves, and all round the hem. There is a big square on the breast. The embroidery is worked by themselves, and is often two or three times as expensive as the whole *thōb*, which is then called *malakī* and *jiljilī*. The former name presumably means "royal." The latter is evidently derived from *jalī* "clear" or "bright." Tamar, Absalom's sister, had, no doubt, such a *malakī thōb*, for we read, that she had a *kethōneth passīm*, "for with this were clothed the unmarried daughters of the king" (2 Sam. xiii, 18). The *jalayya* resembles the *jiljilī*, but is open in front to the waist: it is therefore worn over another one. This is only known in the *Ftūh*.

(2) The common *thōb* of the women is the *thob 'azrak*, blue, with wide sleeves and long points called *'irdān*. The points are tied together and thrown behind the head, when at work, thus leaving the arms quite bare.

(3) The green *thōb*, *thōb 'ekhdar*, has only a small green and red wedge-shaped piece of cloth at the sleeves, and a square ornament on the breast (usually red and yellow cloth patchwork), the whole of the *thōb* being blue.

(4) The silken *thōb*, *thōb harīr*, has a square piece of silk embroidery on the breast, called *kab*. It also has embroidery round the skirt and a couple of wedge-shaped red and green, or yellow patches, right and left, at the bottom. This is the full-dress of the *fellāhā* in most villages. In Bethlehem and Beth-jala the women also wear them as everyday dresses.

The every-day robe, or *thōb*, of the Hebrew woman was certainly a plain female *kethōneth*, resembling the blue *thōb* of the *fallāha*, for we have the description of the *malakī thōb* of Tamar, showing that there was another *thōb* less showy.

Again, we find that they had full-dress *kuṯṯānōṯ*, like the green or so-called silken *ṯōb*, called "embroidered." The king's daughter is brought in *r'kāmōṯ* (raiment of needlework) before the king (Ps. xlv, 15). *R'kāmōṯ* also occurs as the best dress given to the young Israelite woman in Ezekiel (xvi, 10).

The women have a short jacket, *takzira* (which means abbreviation), made of silk or velvet and richly embroidered, and another long cotton jacket, quilted, called *mudarabīa*; *cf.* the mantles called *ma'aṭāfōṯ* (Isaiah iii, 22).

(*b*) The girdle is the *sheddād*, from the verb "to bind." It is quite indispensable; without a girdle, the fellāh is not clothed, as the long *ṯōb* would encumber him at every step. The *sheddād* is the generic name for girdle, it means "to be strong," or "ready," as well. It may be a simple string, above which another real girdle is put. Hanūn, the king of Ammon, cut off the clothes of David's servants to the *sheddād* (2 Sam. x, 4) and sent them away. The Hebrew (= *'abhnēṭ*), of the priests, made of wool or cotton, bound the loins. Eliakim was to be clothed with the *kethōneth* and girt with the *'abhnēṭ* (Isaiah xxii, 21),

(2) The *hezām* is a leather girdle, now rapidly disappearing, being replaced by the softer woollen girdles. The leather girdle was a real "garde-robe"; all minor objects were stuck into it, even daggers and pistols found a safe place there.

The girdle of the Psalmist (cix, 19), called *mēzaḥ*, is, possibly, the leather girdle, or *hezām*; the Arabs, as well as the Hebrews, never found any difficulty in changing the order of the letters, as has been remarked already. The *'ēzōr 'ōr* of Elijah the Tishbite (2 Kings i, 8) recalls the broad leather belt, called *zonār*, of the inhabitants of all the villages towards the Jordan Valley, from *Abu-Dīs* to *et-Taibī*. These leather girdles may last a generation, and are, therefore, more expensive. Our hasty age prefers cheaper and less cumbersome articles, such as the—

(3) Persian *zonār*, which differs from the other two, being always of wool. It is of Persian origin, and is also called *himyān*.

(4) The *kamar* is a woven woollen girdle, to carry money; it is more usually worn by townspeople.

(5) The *shāl* (= shawl), is a cotton girdle, *cf.* the flax girdles of the priests, *mikhn'sē pishtīm* (Ezek. xliv, 18); the Hebrew *ḥ'gōrā*, usually translated girdle, was probably a skirt, like that worn by the Arnauts and Albanians, or like the highland kilt. The first

clothes made by Adam and Eve were *ḥ*^{a}*gōroth* (Gen. iii, 7), translated "aprons" in the English versions. The *ḥejer* of the fellaḥin is that part of the clothes which extends from the girdle down to the knees; *cf.* Hebrew *ḥagōr*, which was made by the women for sale (Prov. xxxi, 24). It was also a part of war apparel. Jonathan stripped himself of his mantle, his garment, his sword, his bow, and his girdle (kilt, *ḥ*^{a}*gōrō*, 1 Sam. xviii, 4), to give them to David, who had probably nothing but the *ḳethōneth* and a simple girdle. Very likely the *ḳethōneth* was very short, and this kilt covered the knees, and was used in war especially. One of the charges given by David to his son, before dying, was to remember Joab, who, in peace, had put the blood of war upon his kilt (girdle, 1 Kings, ii, 5) and on his shoes. A person killing another might be said to stain his kilt and his shoes with the blood, but not his girdle. The kilt was certainly also worn for feasts and for rejoicings, and was of fine material. As a punishment there were to be no more costly kilts for the inhabitants of Judah; when the enemy shall have destroyed Jerusalem, they will have a sack for a kilt (Isaiah xxii, 12; Lament. ii, 10).

Joab reproached the young man who did not kill Absalom: "Why didst thou not smite him? I would have given thee ten shekels of silver and a kilt" (2 Sam. xviii, 11).

As the fellāḥ's clothing resembles that of the fellāḥa in all but colour, so the female kilt also resembled the one worn by men. Her kilts were of שֵׁשׁ, *shēsh*—translated silk—but which was most likely muslin; شاش, *shāsh*, in Arabic. The daughter of Zion, so proud of her many beautiful articles of toilet, will be deprived of her kilt, and will receive a rent in its place (Isaiah iii, 24), a sign of humiliation.

The girdle is put away at night, and this act constitutes undressing for a fellāḥ. The women's girdles are always silk or cotton. The silk ones are mostly made by themselves, and are woven from many threads of various colours; perhaps this woven thread girdle is the *p*^{e}*thīgīl* of the girls (Isaiah iii, 24).

(*c*) The headdress. The headdress is generally composed of four very different parts: the skull cap, the woollen cap, the *ṭarbūsh* and the turban:—

(1) The skull cap, *'arakīa*, or *ṭakīa*, made of cotton by the women, is worn immediately on the skull, and is never put away. (At night the upper cap and turban are laid aside, when one sleeps in the house.)

It is very likely the *pa'ᵃrē pishtīm*, or linen bonnet of the priests (Ezek. xliv, 18). The women also wear the *ṭakīa* over the hair, under the veil, and, like the men, never put it away, though the veil is laid aside at night. *Ṭakīa* also means "the hiding," as it covers the head of the women. Everyone knows what a shame it is, in the Orient, for women to have the head uncovered, and we can easily understand one of the calamities predicted to the daughter of Zion, that the bonnets will be taken away (Isaiah iii, 20).

(2) The woollen cap, or *kube'*, is made of camel's hair and put over the skull cap. The fellaḥīn wear the *ṭarbūsh* above it, and the *Bēdū* have the floating *kafīa* above the *kaube'*. The Hebrews equally had the *kōba'*, which in times of war was of brass (1 Sam. xvii, 38). (In 1 Sam. xvii, 5; 2 Chron. xxvi, 14; and Jer. xlvi, 4, the word is spelt *kōba'*.)

(3) The *ṭarbūsh* is the well-known red cap, or fez, of the Turks, worn universally in the East. The Hebrew *migḥbā'ōth*, or bonnets, of the priests (Exod. xxviii, 40) "for glory and for beauty," were the prototypes of the modern *ṭarbūsh*. The colour, originally white, varied according to the adopted colours of the prince or khaliph. Even as early as Ezekiel's days, the Israelites began to imitate the Babylonians with their dyed attires on their heads (Ezek. xxiii, 15).

(4) The turban, *laffa*, or *'āma*, the Hebrew *miznefeth*, was originally white, a colour often recommended by the Prophets, not only for the headdress, but also for all clothes, but often abandoned as other worship was introduced. Blue, though commanded in Exodus for the priests, is possibly indicated as the Assyrian colour (Ezek. xxiii, 6), and, as such, unacceptable to the Hebrews. The Jews may have changed their colours at different periods, just as the different khaliphs did—from the white of the Omeyyads, to the black of the Abbāsids, and the green of the Fātimids, to arrive finally at the red of the Ottomans. The turban is also called *mishwadh* and *mikwar*.

As we have already seen the boys receive the turban at one of the feasts. After the age of ten or twelve, they keep them as a mark of their reception into the body of believers. The *khaṭīb*, or preacher, always has a white turban, unless he belongs to a Dervish order. These wear the woollen turban of their patron Saint: white for 'Abd el-Kader of Bagdad, red for the Bedawi, green for the descendants of the Fatimids and the disciples of the 'Ajamī.

The inhabitants of the Mountains of Ephraim have a red and white cotton turban called *telāwīya*. In the Plains of Sharon the

baghdādī, and, in the Mountains of Hebron, a red and yellow turban is used. The yellow of the famous standard at the battle of Yarmuk, although the original colour of Islam, is nowhere seen. It is the colour of the *'erfāī*, but is always mixed with black.

The villagers of *Shīūkh* and *Dēr esh-Shēkh*, in the Hebron Mountains, who claim descent from the Fatimids, all wear the green turban and enjoy the title of *sharīf*. Many modern writers, evidently copying each other, have repeated the fable that the green turban is a sign of the pilgrimage to Mecca. The pilgrimage only bestows the title of *haj*, but no outward sign.

(*To be continued.*)

OCCASIONAL PAPERS ON THE MODERN INHABITANTS OF PALESTINE.

By Dr. E. W. G. Masterman and Prof. R. A. S. Macalister.

Tales of Welys and Dervishes.

I.—*Introduction.*

There is nothing more difficult, in studying the religious beliefs of the more primitive inhabitants of Palestine, than to find out their own ideas about the local saints and their shrines. The notes given below are from materials collected by an intelligent native Christian—not educated in Western ways of thought—who went about in the villages conversing with the people in order to obtain this information. They are given, largely, in his own words—literally translated from the Arabic—and his statements are recorded here without any considerable attempt at verification or amplification. The word wely, meaning "protector," is used primarily for the saint himself, but comes to be applied to his supposed tomb, although the more correct term for the shrine is makām (lit. "a place"). Such sacred tombs, or "welys," are found all over Palestine, crowning a lofty hill or sheltered by a group of "sacred" trees; but a makām, dedicated to a deceased worthy of less sanctity than a wely, is found in almost every village. A shrine used as a place of regular pilgrimage is called a *mazār*.

Under the protection of a wely's grave, sowers put their seed to be kept from robbery, and fellahīn coming from a distance leave their ploughs near the maḳām when not using them. No one dare rob anything so placed. The man who places it there says: "I am trusting God and you, O Sheikh, and these things are put under your name," *i.e.*, care. The wely will protect it, and if a man dares to rob, he will be visited by all kinds of misfortune. The trees around a maḳām, and even fallen branches, are also under the protection of the wely, and cannot be touched with impunity.

II.—*Some well-known Shrines in South-west Palestine.*

The welys were pious God-fearing men, whom the people of Syria believe, in many cases, chose their own burial-places. When their friends would carry their bodies to the cemetery, they fly away with shroud and bier and go where they like. Hence, many of the welys of the land belong to strangers who flew away like birds and perched where they liked. Even now, when one of the dervishes dies, he offers opposition to those carrying him to the cemetery, and this is proof that he has taken power from some wely that he should fly like him.[1]

One of the most important and holy of the welys of Palestine, in whose name all swear, is *Saîd Aḥmed el-Falūji*, who is also honoured with the name *Aḥmed Muḥeddīn* (lit., who causes the religion to live). His maḳām is in the village of Falūji, in the Gaza district. Tradition states that people knew he was a wely before his birth, in this way. The people of the village were anxious to know the time of the new moon of Ramadān, and they went to a learned sheikh at *Esdūd* (Ashdod) to ask when the month of Ramadān began. The Sheikh answered: "Return to your village. A boy may be born there to-day; make inquiries about him, and if he has not yet suckled from his mother, Ramadān has begun, but if he has already suckled, it has not begun." So the villagers returned and gave notice to all the pregnant women that they must each send word when she was delivered. On the second day a child was born, and in the presence of leading people of the village, the baby was put to the breast. But he would not suckle, and remained fasting until evening,[2] after which he cried out to be nursed. This baby

[1] Cf. *Q.S.*, 1905, p. 268.

[2] The point is, the baby was supposed to have known that the month of fasting—when food is not taken between sunrise and sunset—had begun, and his piety was such that, even at birth, he kept the fast.

was *Aḥmed el-Falūji*. To his maḳām pilgrims from all parts of the land resort, and in his name they swear the most binding oaths. Thus, once one of the workmen of the P.E.F. was asked: "Are you fasting?" and he said "Yes." His reply being doubted, he was asked to swear in God's name, and he still confirmed his statement. He was then asked to swear by the Sheiḳh of Falūji, and he confessed the truth that he was not fasting, rather than perjure himself in the name of so powerful a wely. Those who have taken the "oath of purgation" at this shrine receive a certificate from the attendant sealed by the village *mukhtār*. The possession of such a document is considered as evidence of innocence.

At *Beit Jibrīn* there are many maḳāms for the welys. At the entrance to the village is that of *Sheikh el-'Ajameh*. It is situated there by choice of the wely, who wished to hinder the jinns from entering Beit Jibrīn. This town is a great centre for dervishes, and where there are many dervishes there are many jinns. Beit Jibrīn should indeed be a place of worship only—all places whose names begin with Beit should be places of worship—and this name means the House of the Angel Gabriel. Recently a maḳām has been built there named Nebi Jibrīn—the Prophet Jibrīn—and the reason for the building of this maḳām is this: Once, soldiers of the government were collecting the land-taxes (*amwal amīriyeh*), and they slept in the maḍāfieh (guest-house) of the village. During the night the Angel Gabriel appeared to the chief officer (*ḳaid*) and said "Build my makām." And the ḳaid awoke, greatly troubled, and made enquiries about the maḳām of Nebi Jebrīn, and he found it was a ruin. So he rebuilt it and made it beautiful.

There is in Beit Jibrīn, a tribe (*ḥamūleh*) called *Dar el-Muhdeh*, and they are the hereditary dervishes of the city. They are the descendants of *Esh-Sheikh Maḥmud*, a pious man, who, before his death, called his children around him and said: "I will throw my *māḥjah*[1] (عصاي), and where it falls there dig. You will come upon a cave, bury me in it." And the rod which the dervish threw perched upon the mountain opposite to Beit Jibrīn. And there to-day is his grave, and to it pilgrimages are made. And his descendants are held in honour, and the people dread lest they

[1] The *māḥjah* is the dervishes' hooked almond stick—traditionally made like Moses' rod.

should bring evil upon themselves by any transgression against them. For example, once one of these dervishes was praying, and saw a man smoking a cigarette at the door of the makām. So the dervish seized the cigarette and threw it on the fire, whereupon the owner protested, and said: "You trouble the people with your 'dervishing.'" Immediately the dervish became very angry and threw himself upon the ground. The man went home, but that night, while he slept, he saw in his dream the dervish whom he had insulted come to him and attempt to strangle him. He awakened trembling, and hastily begged one of his relatives to go to the dervish's home and beg him for pardon, and he sent with the messenger a peace-offering of a sheep and a jar of *samn* (cooked butter). Such a procedure is called "smoothing the mind." Of this same dervish it is related that once, when he was in an assembly with other dervishes who were beating each other with swords and spears, one of the party was badly wounded with great loss of blood, and this dervish drew near and touched the wounded man with his hand, and at once the bleeding ceased, and even the mark of the wound disappeared.

In the madafieh of Zakarīyeh, the writer once witnessed a strange scene which shows the honour in which dervishes are held. It was a rainy day in winter and the guest-room was crowded, when a dervish, naked from the waist up, came to the door of the guest-house. The host called out: "Enter, O Sheikh Hasan, and shelter yourself from the rain," and the man came in and began to 'dervish,'[1] and to neigh (like a horse). Then he tore off his headdress and, throwing it on one side, he rushed out and ran through the streets of the village. After a little he returned trembling with cold on account of the rain and his half-naked condition. After standing a little while before the fire he began to 'dervish' again and beat the fire with his foot. One of those sitting by told him to be quiet, whereupon the dervish became very angry, and filling both his hands with hot charcoal from the fire, he pursued the speaker to throw it over him. The man fled outside. Then the dervish said: "The fire is also a dervish: through the permission of God I will sit in it." Then he began to turn from side to side, opposite the fire exclaiming: "Allah! Allah! take firm hold," and none of those sitting by dared say anything but "God will be a helper." Then

[1] Bow himself backwards and forwards.

the dervish turned towards the writer and said: "The Mohammedans are mad, oh Khawajah," and he began to laugh. Then he stopped and began going from one part of the room to another, exclaiming "La illāhah illa Allah, ya Khalil Allah—ya Ṣultān 'Abd el-Kāder, help me!" Then, after a time, he became still, and the people sitting by said that the Sheikh was blessed and had close communion with God, and that, in this state, he sometimes sat for four days at a time without food or drink. After a time the man who had insulted him came back and kissed his hands and asked his pardon, and would not leave until the dervish said "God will forgive you."

It is narrated of a dervish, called Muhammad, of this same village (Zakariyeh) that, while he was feeding goats, some robbers rushed upon him to seize his flock, and when he had no strength left for further opposition, he called for help upon the head of his sect, Sultān 'Abd el-Kāder. Immediately he and his goats and his dog were transported to a place very far off, where he was safe from the robbers. In consequence of this, the people of the land continue to honour him and his family, and to make oaths in his name and in that of his son Hasan. To the latter, too, happened a somewhat similar incident while he was shepherding his goats. A very old wolf suddenly rushed upon him, and he asked the intercession of his father, and at once the wolf became tame and quietly accompanied the goats home.

Near Deir en-Nakhkhās there is a makām for a wely called Sheikh 'Abd Allah *A'shīsh* (اعشيش). It is said of this man that, when he was being carried to the cemetery for burial, he compelled the bearers to ascend the valley slope above the city, and there he was buried. Over his grave is a great dome, which is a place of pilgrimage and the making of vows. On feast days the dervishes, carrying their banners, are compelled supernaturally to carry them to this tomb.

At 'Arāk el-Manshīyeh there are many welys, the most honoured being that of the Sheikh Ahmed abu Sell. This name was given to the wely because he used to carry a basket (*sell*) full of water without the water running out. In his name a prayer is made, known as the "prayer of the basket" (*sell*) for those touched with the evil eye (*lit.*, "empty eye").

Of a wely at Tell es-Safi it is narrated that once he was in the madāfieh (guest-room) of the village with several people when a

stranger entered and saluted him, saying: "Good health and peace to you, oh Ḥajj" (pilgrim). The Sheikh asked him: "How do you know that I am a Ḥajj?" The stranger replied: "When you were praying at Jabal 'Arafāt, I was close beside you." The people of the village knew that the Sheikh was not really a pilgrim, but they remembered that, on the day mentioned, he had been absent. They were, therefore, certain that on this day he had been carried to Jabal 'Arafāt (at Mecca), and, therefore, they esteemed him a holy man. When he died and was being taken to burial, he (*i.e.*, the corpse) led all the funeral procession of relations and friends to a piece of ground near the wely of el-Khudr in Tell es-Safi, where they had to bury him. This place they later walled in and made into a maḳām.

It may sometimes happen, though rarely, that a wely is a woman, in which case she is honoured and has a maḳām like a man; but the visitors to her shrine must be women only. There is such a maḳām in the village of Zakariyeh to Fatmeh, the daughter of Barri. The women burn oil lamps there; no man dare come near the place or touch the branches of the trees or the herbs which grow there. If a man ventures to enter into the cave of the maḳām, he will be taken with fever and also lose his understanding. A stranger approaching the place in ignorance will be warned away by the villagers. When a woman fulfils a vow there she has to leave the place without turning her back. It is said that the family of this pious woman was from Persia; and if a dervish passes the vicinity of this maḳām and is afterwards affected with pain, he believes it is a plague from the land of Persia. They also believe that there is a company of Persians inside a heap of stones lying in front of a tree near the maḳām. A company of dervishes passing on a pilgrimage with their drums (*ṭabbūl*) and tambourines and cymbals, had all their instruments broken to pieces as they passed the cave; the pole of the banner they were carrying was also broken. This was ascribed to the Persians.

III.—*Two Famous Annual Pilgrimages in South Palestine.*

The most celebrated pilgrim shrines in Palestine are Nebi Mūsa and Nebi Sāliḥ. Nebi Mūsa, reputed among the Muslims as the tomb of Moses, is situated on the western side of the Jordan Valley, a little to the north-west of the Dead Sea. It is stated that the leaders

of the Muslims arranged this Nebi Mūsa pilgrimage for the orthodox Greek "Good Friday," when a great number of Christians are gathered together in Jerusalem, because they feared lest trouble should happen between the Muslims and Christians during the Easter celebrations. The people—both men and women—begin to assemble from the beginning of the week from all parts of the land —from Gaza, Jaffa, Nāblūs, and Hebron and their districts, and also from more distant parts. There are often not less than 7,000 pilgrims, besides the people of Jerusalem. On the Friday, when all are assembled, the Mutesarrif (Governor) of Jerusalem and all his suite and the officers of the army go to pray, amid great rejoicing, in the Ḥaram, at the midday prayer. After the prayers the Mutesarrif drives in a carriage with military escort and often some camel riders, to a place called Rās el-'Amūd, on the Jericho road, where a great tent has been erected at the parting of the two roads to Nebi Mūsa. There he awaits the procession. Meanwhile, all the crowd which has gathered in the Ḥaram come out shouting "Allah, Allah," and carry the banner of Nebi Mūsa to the house of the Mufti, who is the agent for the *waḳf* of Nebi Mūsa. There the crowd receive cooling drinks and coffee. When the procession starts, the Mufti himself carries the green banner of Nebi Mūsa, on which is embroidered "*La illahah illa Allah Mūsa Kalim Allah*" (there is no God but Allah, Moses is the interlocutor of Allah). And each sect of the dervishes carries its banner, and there are two banners for Nebi Daūd (*i.e.*, David) carried on horseback by attendants from the maḳām of Nebi Daūd. Two attendants of the Ḥaram, also riding, carry the green banner of the Ḥaram. There is a special great banner of many colours carried by the young men (shabāb) and this is known as *barah* (*? birak*) *esh-Shabāb*. The procession proceeds as follows: In front come soldiers of the government, all armed and in uniform, some walking, some riding horses, and some on camels, and in their midst is the military band. Then come dervishes from all parts of the land, each sect with its special banner, and their drums decorated with calico of the same colours as their banners. Each man has a sword suspended from his neck, and a spear in his hand. They also carry tambourines and cymbals, and they shout "Allahū akbar!" (God is most great) and flourish their swords. Behind these are the shabāb (young men) of Jerusalem with their banner in their midst, carried by one chosen by themselves and styled the Sheikh esh-Shabāb. And they, too, make play with swords and

knives and revolvers, which they fire into the air. As they go they dance, some springing on to the shoulders of their companions, and shouting:—

"O eye! be patient with him who was taken by thy sailors.
In the middle of the ship were we put,
And they covered us with the sails,
And the anchor-hook was put into us.
O Mūsa! we beg you,
Thou as the son of 'Imrām,
O 'Aisa! we beg you,
Thou as the son of Mary,
O Muḥammad! we beg you,
Thou as the prophet of God.
O eye! entreat the prophet.
O eye! entreat the handsome one.
O eye! pray to the prophet.
And the rose, for the sake of the prophet, is open.
Do not fear, O 'Ali!
The people around you are men.
They (*i.e.*, the enemies) are the goats, O 'Ali!
And we are their slaughterers, O father!
O Abd'ul Ḥamid[1]! do not notice them,
Thy sword is always dripping with blood."

At the end of the procession come more young men accompanying the Mufti, and assisting him to carry the banner of Nebi Mūsa.

When the procession leaves the city by the Bab Sittna Mariam (the St. Stephen's Gate of the tourist) cannons are fired in salute within the city, and continue at intervals until the troops reach the large tent mentioned before, placed at Rās el-'Amūd where the Mutesarrif awaits their coming. Here one of the sheikhs makes a speech in honour of Nebi Mūsa and of the sultān, and all respond "Amen" to his words. Then the banner of Nebi Mūsa is folded up and is so carried by the pilgrims to the shrine, while the Mutesarrif and the soldiers, and all those who are not going on pilgrimage, return to the city with the other banners.

When the pilgrims reach the maḳām there is always a rivalry between the parties from the districts of Nāblūs, Hebron, Gaza, and

[1] This belongs to the time of the late sultān.

Jerusalem as to which is to have the right to enter first with the banner.

The parties at length settle down in and around the maḳām and remain there till the next Thursday, eating at the expense of the Nebi Mūsa endowments. Strict purity is enjoined, as it is believed that any act of indecent conduct would be visited by an awful whirlwind. If rain occurs before the feast is over, it is believed that God has sent the rain to purify the place from the dirt of their footprints, and they call this "the rain of Nebi Mūsa."

On the Thursday they return to the city as they came: the Mutesarrif and soldiers meet them as before at the tent, and the procession returns in the same order as it left the city on the previous Friday. As they pass the crowded city streets, the onlookers attempt to touch the banner for a blessing. When they reach the Ḥaram they spend that night in the Court of the Mosque, and midday the next day—Friday—all the crowds stand opposite a large olive tree planted by the gate of the Ḥaram, and there offer their prayers. They carry away as mementoes some branches of the olive, whose leaves, they believe, tremble from the energy of their prayers. After this the crowds break up and every one returns to his own town or village.

The pilgrimage to Nebi Sālih, at Ramleh, occurs on the Friday of the week next after that of Nebi Mūsa. The people are called to assemble by shouts, the beating of drums, and the blowing of pipes from the morning of the previous Wednesday. Dervishes come from all parts of the land—most of whom have just attended Nebi Mūsa—and also great crowds of fellahīn, men and women. The people collect in a procession and go to the house of the Bey, a noble of Ramleh, who manages the *waḳf*, and under whose care is the cloak and banner of the Nebi. Having received the banner they march with great rejoicing and shouting to the Great Mosque. The dervishes are each in sects, with their special banners, and do just as in the Nebi Mūsa procession.

They all leave the Mosque after joining in the midday prayers, and go in procession to Nebi Sālih, which is outside the town at Jamia' el-Abiad. On arriving, one of the 'ulema recites prayers and they all say "Amen." Then they exclaim: "Es-salām 'alayk yā karīm Allah! Es-salaḥ wa 's-salām 'alayk yā 'Aisa rūḥ Allah! Es-salaḥ wa 's-salām 'alayk yā Sālih ya habīb Allah! Es-salaḥ wa 's-salām 'alayk yā awwal ḳhalḳ Allah, wa ḳhatamat rusul Allah"—

"Salutation to thee, generous one of Allah, 'Aisa spirit of Allah, Sālih beloved of Allah, first creation of Allah and seal of the prophets of Allah." And they pray and recite the fātihah. Then they enter the makām and cover the tomb with a piece of green calico, and the people enter in small parties and take a blessing by kissing the piece of calico, which they call the *tōb* (robe), and they repeatedly wipe their faces with it. And many people make lamentation upon the graves of their relatives buried in the vicinity of the makām. Some of the crowd sing together, others swing themselves from the trees, others watch the women promenading, while yet others use the opportunity to buy and sell at small stalls scattered around. So they occupy the time till the evening, when they return to the town (Ramleh) in the same order as they came —often not less than 5,000 people—with the soldiers accompanying them. The dervishes walk in front with the banner of Nebi Sālih, showing great excitement and shouting out, until they reach the Great Mosque, where prayers are quietly said, and everybody goes home.

(To be continued.)

MEASURES OF DISTANCE IN PALESTINE.

By Colonel Sir Charles Watson, K.C.M.G., C.B.

There is a matter in connection with the study of the geography of the Holy Land, which sometimes causes difficulty to those who are interested in the subject, and who wish to follow on a map the accounts of the topography of the country and of the relative positions of places referred to in the Bible, the Books of the Jewish historian Josephus, and the descriptions of other ancient writers. To an Englishman the word "mile" conveys the idea of an English mile, and the word "furlong" of an English furlong, and it is overlooked that, eighteen centuries ago, the mile and furlong were not the same length as in England at the present day. Then again, while the maps published by the Palestine Exploration Fund are

drawn in accordance with English scales, maps issued in France and some other European countries are usually compiled on a scale based on the metric system of measures. For reading maps in connexion with history it is very necessary to be familiar with the different measures, and to remember their relative lengths without having constantly to refer to some treatise dealing with them. A few remarks on the subject may therefore be of help to those who are interested in the question, and who have not had the occasion to devote themselves to a study of it.

Measures of length may be conveniently divided into two classes; first, the longer measures, such as the mile, the furlong, and the kilometre, which may be called measures of distance; and, secondly, the shorter measures, such as the yard, the foot, the inch, and the metre, used for buildings, for manufactures, and for domestic purposes. It is with the former measures that I propose to deal in this paper.

At what period measures of distance were first reduced to a regular system is not known, but they certainly date back to the remotest antiquity with which we are acquainted, and were as carefully fixed in the days of the Babylonians and of the ancient Egyptians as in the time of the Greeks and Romans. It is evident that such measures were originally used by some people who had a high degree of scientific knowledge, and who were aware of the fact that the earth was a sphere and not a flat surface, as supposed by more ignorant people who succeeded them. They must have had an acquaintance with astronomy and mathematics, and have been able to make use of the heavenly bodies for getting measurements of the earth, just as this is done at the present day, but how they acquired that knowledge is an unsolved problem.

There is an interesting passage in the *Antiquities of the Jews*, in which Josephus gives his solution of the question. After describing the creation of Adam and Eve, the murder by Cain of his brother Abel, and the birth of Seth, Josephus goes on to say:—"Now this Seth, when he was brought up and came to those years in which he could discern what was good, became a virtuous man, and, as he was himself of an excellent character, so did he leave children behind him who imitated his virtues. All these proved to be of good disposition. They also inhabited the same country without dissensions, and in a happy condition, without any misfortunes falling upon them until they died. They also were the inventors

of that peculiar sort of wisdom which is concerned with the heavenly bodies, and their order." And, in another place, Josephus says of Noah and his predecessors:—"God afforded them a longer time of life on account of their virtue, and the good use they made of it in astronomical and geometrical discoveries, which would not have afforded the time of foretelling the periods of the stars unless they had lived six hundred years; for the Great Year is completed in that interval."

Whatever may be thought of this explanation by Josephus, there can be no doubt that measures of distance were based on measurements of the earth, and on the ancient division of the circle into degrees, minutes and seconds. This division was founded on the equilateral triangle, which was regarded by the old mathematicians as of special importance, and rightly placed by Euclid in the first proposition of his First Book. The angle of an equilateral triangle is the unit of angular measurement, and, when the measurement of angles was taken in hand by the ancients, they divided this angle into sixty parts, the best possible number that could have been selected, as $60 = 3 \times 4 \times 5$, and is divisible by 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10 and 12. Each of the 60 parts was called a degree, each degree was divided into 60 smaller parts called minutes and each minute into 60 seconds. As the angle of an equilateral triangle is contained six times in a complete circle, the number of degrees in a circle was 360. This, which may be called the natural division of the circle, has been in use from the remotest antiquity to the present time, and it is improbable that it will ever be superseded by any other system.

At the time of the French Revolution of 1792, certain French scientific men thought they could improve on the ideas of their predecessors by dividing the circle into 400 degrees, each degree into 100 minutes, and each minute into 100 seconds. But, notwithstanding strenuous efforts to introduce it, the decimal division of the circle has proved a failure, and the ancient system continues in general use.

The manner in which measures of distance are based on the form of the earth is as follows:—If a circle is described, with the centre of the earth as its centre, passing through the north and south poles, it will be cut in half by the equator, and an arc of 90 degrees will be intercepted between the pole and the equator. The length of one-sixtieth of a degree, or 1 minute of arc, measured

on the surface of the earth along this circle, is called a geographical mile, and is the unit of measures of distance. If the earth were a perfect sphere, the length of a geographical mile would always be the same, but, as the diameter from the north pole to the south pole is a little less than the diameter across the equator, the circle, passing through the two poles, is not perfect, and, in consequence of this, the geographical mile varies somewhat, and increases from a length of 6,046 English feet at the equator to 6,108 English feet at the pole. Its mean length may be taken as approximately 6,075 English feet. We do not know whether the ancient astronomers of the East were acquainted with the fact that the earth was not a perfect sphere, but there can be no doubt that this length of 6,075 English feet was very nearly what was adopted in early times as the length of the geographical mile.

With the Greeks, the principal unit of measures of distance appears to have been the stadion, of which ten were contained in the geographical mile. The stadion was divided into six plethra, each plethron having a length of 100 Olympic feet. There were therefore 6,000 Olympic feet in the geographical mile, the Olympic foot being equal to 12·15 English inches. The Greek system of measures of distance was an admirable one, and it is to be regretted that it was not adopted by the Romans. But the latter made their land mile equal to eight instead of ten stadia, and also divided the mile into 1,000 paces, each pace of five Roman feet, the Roman foot being equal to 11·66 English inches. The word "mile" is derived from the fact that the Roman land mile was 1,000 paces, "mille passuum."

For measurement of distances by sea, however, the Romans adhered to the geographical mile of 10 stadia, and, in the Antonine Itineraries, while distances by land are given in Roman miles of 8 stadia, distances by sea are given in multiples of 10 stadia. In the Itinerary of the Bordeaux Pilgrim, written in the fourth century, while the land distances are in Roman miles, the pilgrim says, with reference to his voyage across the Adriatic Gulf from Macedonia to Italy: "trans mare stadia mille, quod facit milia centum," thus showing that he knew the sea mile was composed of 10 stadia.

The English mile, though it has the same origin, differs from both the geographical and the Roman mile. Like the latter it is divided into 8 stadia or furlongs, each furlong containing 660 English feet. But the English sea mile is the geographical mile, divided into 10 stadia, or, as we call them, cable lengths.

The last of the four measures of distance under consideration is the kilometre, which differs altogether from the other three. When the French Revolution took place at the end of the eighteenth century, it was one of the objects of the revolutionary party to obliterate the history of the world, and, as far as possible, to do away with the records of the past. It was decided that the idea of God was obsolete; a new calendar was started, dating from the year of the Revolution; the week was made to consist of ten days, and the day of ten hours; while, as has already been mentioned, the ancient and scientific division of the circle into 360 degrees, was changed to a new division into 400 degrees, each degree being divided into 100 minutes. The arc of the earth's surface measured on a great circle from the equator to the pole was thus made equal to 10,000 minutes, and it was decreed that the new measure of distance, which was to take the place of the old geographical mile, was to be the length of one new minute. The new geographical mile was called the kilometre, because it contained 1,000 metres, the metre being the primary unit of measures of length, and equal to $\frac{1}{10000000}$th part of the quadrant of a great circle from the equator to the pole. The length of the kilometre, as fixed by the French scientists is equal to 3280·84 English feet.

The following is a comparison of the four measures of distance which have been described above. The lengths are given to the nearest foot:—

	Olympic Feet.	Roman Feet.	English Feet.	Metres.
Geographical mile of 10 stadia	6000	6250	6075	1851
Roman mile of 8 stadia ...	4800	5000	4860	1481
English mile of 8 furlongs ...	5215	5432	5280	1609
Kilometre	3240	3375	3281	1000

It is useful to remember, for purpose of calculation, that the following relation is very nearly correct:—

20 Geographical Miles = 25 Roman Miles = 23 English Miles
= 37 Kilometres.

Now to turn to the practical side of the question. In books by Roman authors, the Roman mile of 8 stadia is usually given in mentioning distances by land, and the mile of 10 stadia for distances by sea. This rule is followed in the Antonine Itineraries, which are supposed to date from the fourth century, and, in the Peutinger

Tables, also believed to be of the fourth century, the land distances are in Roman miles. In the Bordeaux Pilgrim, written about A.D. 330, Roman land miles are used, except in a few cases, where the distances are given in Gallic leagues, which were equal to $1\frac{1}{2}$ Roman miles, or 12 stadia.

In the *Books* of Josephus, on the other hand, the author, who gives a large number of distances, almost invariably takes a length of 10 stadia, *i.e.*, the geographical mile, as the unit, and not the Roman mile. The distances given by Josephus are generally pretty correct, but in some cases are in error, either in consequence of a mistake in copying the manuscript or because he only gives the distance approximately.

For example he gives the length of the Jordan Valley, including the Lake of Tiberias and the Dead Sea, as 230 stadia, whereas he must have written 1230 stadia, as the distance measured on the map from the north end of the Lake of Tiberias to the south end of the Dead Sea is 1220 stadia. He gives the length of the Lake of Tiberias as 140 stadia and the breadth as 40 stadia. The actual length at the present time is 115 stadia, and the extreme breadth 65 stadia, but it is possible that he may have referred to the breadth opposite the city of Tiberias, which is 45 stadia.

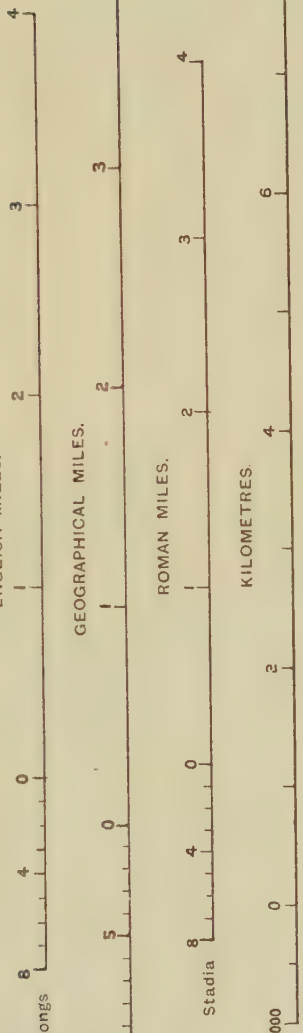
Josephus gives the distance from Jerusalem to Caesarea as 600 stadia. This may be compared with the distance of 73 Roman miles, or 584 stadia, as noted by the Bordeaux Pilgrim. As measured on the map the distance is 580 stadia, but it may have been a little more, as one cannot be sure of the exact line of road referred to. Again Josephus gives the distance from Jerusalem to Jericho as 150 stadia, while the Bordeaux Pilgrim makes it 18 Roman miles, or 144 stadia. The actual distance is 145 stadia.

Other instances might be given, but the above are sufficient to show that the distances given by Josephus, when compared with actual distances measured on the map, are very helpful in fixing the position of places mentioned in the *Antiquities* and the *Wars of the Jews*.

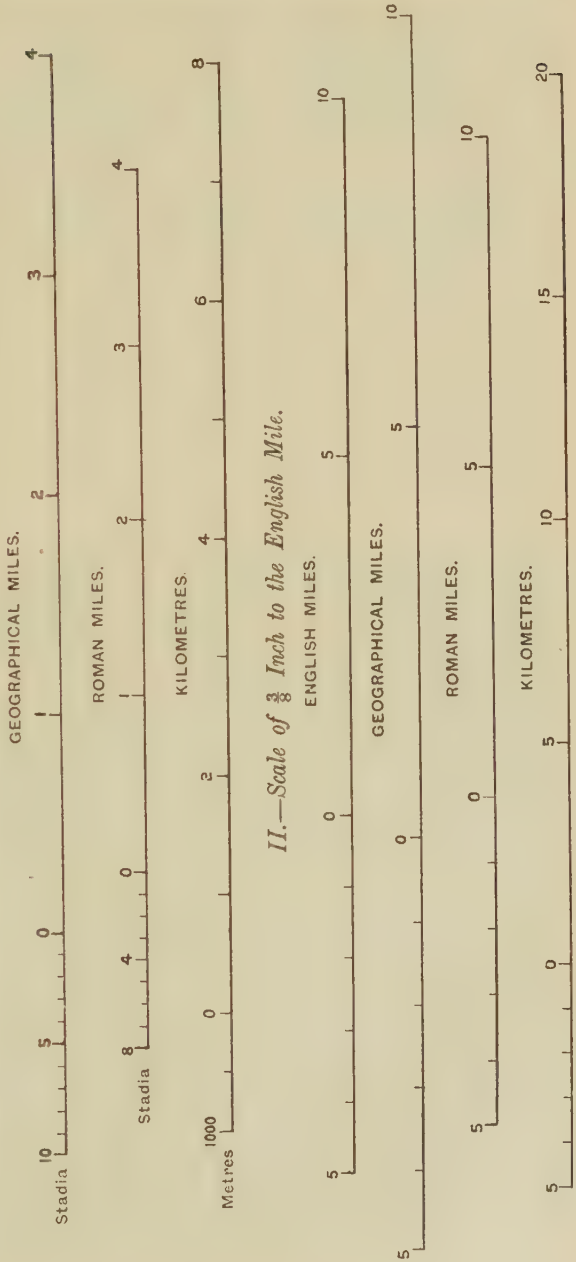
The distances given in the Bible are few, but, such as they are, they appear to be based on the same unit as those in Josephus. For example, it is stated in Luke xxiv, 13, that the village of Emmaus was 60 furlongs from Jerusalem. Josephus gives this distance as 60 stadia, and this is the actual distance to El-Kubeibeh, which is now generally accepted as the site of Emmaus.

COMPARATIVE MEASURES OF DISTANCE.

I.—Scale of 1 Inch to the English Mile.



II.—Scale of $\frac{3}{8}$ Inch to the English Mile.



In order to illustrate the relative lengths of the four measures of distance which have been described, a Table is given showing these in accordance with the scales of the two maps published by the Palestine Exploration Fund, the first being that of the large Map of Western Palestine, one inch to the English mile, and the second that of the reduced Map of Palestine, $\frac{3}{8}$ inch to the English mile. This diagram shows more clearly than a verbal description, the comparative length of those four measures of distance with which students of the geography of the Holy Land should be thoroughly acquainted.

THE SHEKEL OF THE SANCTUARY.

By E. J. Pilcher.

In May last the Rev. Prof. A. R. S. Kennedy delivered an important lecture before the Victoria Institute on "Hebrew Weights and Measures."[1] This lecture was intended to summarize our present knowledge of the subject, and to show the advance that has been made during the last few years. For example, until quite recently we could only infer the standards of the Hebrew measures of capacity from the corresponding Greek and Roman measures with which they were compared by various ancient writers. All this is now changed, for the Assumptionist Fathers at Jerusalem have unearthed a series of stone vessels, which enable us to ascertain the dimensions of the Hebrew measures at first hand.

In the department of linear measurement, there has been a prolonged controversy as to the standard of the cubit, some inclining to the "long measure" of 22 inches, others to the "short measure" of $17\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Prof. Kennedy has shown that this question can be decided by reference to acknowledged Jewish remains, the most important being the temple at Jerusalem, several times rebuilt upon the old foundations. The careful measurements made by the investigators of the Palestine Exploration Fund clearly demonstrate that all stages of the work on the temple were

[1] *Transactions of the Victoria Institute*, Vol. XLVII.

executed on the scale of the "short cubit" of about 17½ inches; and therefore this must have been the received standard throughout Jewish history. The theory of the "long cubit" arose chiefly from Ezekiel xl, 5; but this passage is so obscure and ungrammatical, that it can only be regarded as having been subjected to textual corruption.

Prof. Kennedy has also succeeded in simplifying another point of Hebrew metrology. It has hitherto been supposed that the Jews had two standards, one for weighing gold and the other for weighing silver. Prof. Kennedy has demonstrated that this had no basis beyond a misunderstanding of a single passage in Josephus, who could not have meant it in that sense, because in the rest of his writings he is quite unconscious of any such distinction between the two metals. We are therefore forced to the conclusion that the Hebrews weighed both the precious metals on the same standard; and, as a matter of fact, this is implied all through the Old Testament.

Granting, however, that both gold and silver were weighed upon one standard, there still remains the question whether this standard was invariable: that is to say, whether there was always one kind of weight in use, or several. In the greater part of the Old Testament, weight is expressed in shekels. The reader is assumed to be familiar with the exact signification of the shekel, and, apparently, we are intended to infer that it remained of exactly the same weight throughout Jewish history. At any rate, Josephus draws this inference; and he repeatedly informs us that the Hebrew shekel was equivalent to four Attic drachmas. In addition to this testimony of the Jewish historian, we have a number of silver coins, which bear upon them the inscription "Shekel of Israel." These coins weigh about 220 grains, and have evidently been struck upon what is called the "Phoenician Standard," the norm of which may be taken as 224·5 grains, ancient coins being usually a trifle below the correct weight. Consequently, it is clear that the authorities who struck these coins considered that the Phoenician shekel was the Shekel of Israel, and the same view is expressed in the Mishna. Four Attic drachmas ought to weigh a little more than this; but it is evident that Josephus was merely making a rough working comparison of the two coinages.

It would therefore appear that the shekels we read about in the Old Testament were always on the Phoenician standard, but the

problem is not quite so simple as that. The "Shekels of the king's weight" in 2 Samuel xiv, 26, may be ignored, as the passage is now usually regarded as a gloss of the Persian period. There is, however, a more serious element to be faced in the expression "Shekel of the Sanctuary," שקל הקדש, which occurs so often in the Priestly Code. It is obvious that this Shekel of the Sanctuary must have differed from the standard in ordinary use; otherwise there would have been no object in insisting upon it; or in stating four times over that "the shekel is twenty gerahs."

The simple phrase *Shekel ha-kōdesh* is rendered by the LXX translators in several different ways:—

Κατὰ τὸ δίδραχμον τὸ ἅγιον
According to the holy didrachmon.

Κατὰ τὸν σίκλον τὸν ἅγιον
According to the holy shekel.

Τῷ σίκλῳ τῶν ἁγίων
By the shekel of the sanctuaries.

Τῷ σταθμῷ τῷ ἁγίῳ
By the holy weight.

Σταθμίοις ἁγίοις
By holy weights.

The phrascology of the Vulgate is equally varied: *juxta mensuram empli; juxta pondus sanctuarii; ad mensuram sanctuarii, etc.*

We may observe that the LXX translates the word "shekel" indifferently as δίδραχμον, σίκλος, σταθμός, and στάθμιον.

Didrachmon means, of course, two drachmas; and it may reasonably be asked what the translators understood by that term, or what standard they meant their readers to understand. During the Hellenic period there were two chief standards of coinage in the Eastern Mediterranean: the Ptolemaic and the Attic. The Attic standard was the one employed by Alexander the Great and his successors, except in Egypt, where Ptolemy Soter issued money on the Attic standard of 135 grains to the didrachmon, or stater, so long as he contented himself with the subordinate position of Governor; but when he assumed the title of "King" in 305 B.C. he signalized the change by striking coins on the Phoenician standard of 112 grains to the didrachmon, and this standard thus became associated with the Ptolemaic dynasty. According to Jewish tradition, the LXX translation was executed in Egypt, and

by "didrachmon" Egyptian Jews could only have understood the Ptolemaic stater of 112 grains, which was really one half of the Phoenician "shekel." On the other hand, in the absence of any indication to the contrary, a Jew of Asia Minor might very well take the "didrachmon" to be on the Attic standard, and weigh 135 grains.

The LXX defines the *σίκλος ὁ ἅγιος* as *εἴκοσι ὀβολοὶ τὸ δίδραχμον* "twenty obols to the didrachmon," *i.e.*, twenty obols to the Shekel of the Sanctuary. In the Hellenic system of weights and coinage the obol was the twelfth part of the Greek stater, or didrachmon; and it would naturally differ according to the standard adopted. The Ptolemaic obol should, theoretically, weigh 9·35 grains, and twenty Ptolemaic obols would be 187 grains. On the other hand, the norm of the Attic obol was 11·25 grains, and twenty Attic obols would be 225 grains: almost the exact equivalent of the Phoenician shekel. It has therefore been argued that the twenty obols of the LXX imply the Phoenician shekel; and this argument would have great force if we could only be sure that the translators intended to express the Attic standard; but unfortunately they give no indication that they are doing so; and the words "obol" and "didrachmon" are meaningless until we know the system of metrology to which they apply. It is important to note that Josephus did not grasp this very simple equation of twenty Attic obols to the shekel. Josephus tells us (*Antiq.*, III, viii, 2, and other places) that the sacred Hebrew shekel was equivalent to four Attic drachmas: that is to say, to *twenty-four* Attic obols: theoretically 270 grains. Consequently some scholars have supposed that the ancient Hebrew shekel was heavier in weight than the Phoenician shekel of 224·5 grains; though it is universally recognized that the coined Hebrew shekels that have come down to us were minted on the Phoenician standard; and the Mishna (*Bekoroth* viii, 7) expressly enjoins that "all payments according to the sacred shekel are to be in Tyrian money."

All this is very puzzling, and it may freely be admitted that the literary evidence so far gives us no clue to the correct determination of the Shekel of the Sanctuary. Exodus xxxviii, 26, however, tells us that half of the shekel was equivalent to another unit, called a *beḳa'*. The passage in question refers to a poll-tax imposed upon every Israelite:—

בקע לגלגלת מחצית השקל בשקל הקדש

literally "A *beḳa'* to the poll, half of the shekel; in shekel of the sanctuary."

The part of the Book of Exodus in which this passage occurs is considered by the literary critics to be of relatively late date. Chapters xxxv to xl merely repeat Exodus xxv to xxxi, describing the fulfilment of the commands; but the order of the sections in the former is not exactly the same as in the latter. In the LXX version this order is even more discrepant; and some of the fresh material of the Hebrew xxxix, 32, and onwards, is partly curtailed. Furthermore, the vocabulary employed in xxxv–xl differs from that used to express the same terms in xxv–xxxi. It is therefore thought probable that the original LXX of Exodus ended with the xxxivth chapter, and that the remainder of the book was added by a later scribe, who made his translation from an edition of the Hebrew that had not yet assumed the form of the present Massoretic text.[1]

This may be an interesting point of criticism, but it has little bearing on our particular study. It may at least be assumed that the Hebrew author of Exodus xxxviii, 26, knew what he was writing about, and that he understood the exact significance of the Shekel of the Sanctuary, as well as the relative value of the *beḳa'* unit. If he wrote after the first edition of the LXX had been issued, this passage will merely demonstrate that the actual value of the Shekel of the Sanctuary was known down to a comparatively late period.

Whatever may be the date of Exodus, however, the *beḳa'* unit itself can lay claim to a respectable antiquity, for it is mentioned in one of the earliest documents of the Hexateuch, viz., the Yahwist narrative in Genesis xxiv, 22, where we read that the servant of Abraham gave Rebekah a gold ring, בקע משקלו, "a *beḳa'* its weight."

In each place where the Hebrew has בקע the Greek has *δραχμή*; and the word *δραχμή* does not occur in any other part of the Pentateuch except these two passages. In Genesis xxiv, 22, instead of נזם זהב, "ring of gold," the LXX appear to have read נזמי זהב (as in Judges viii, 24), for they render *ἐνώτια χρυσᾶ ἀνὰ δραχμὴν ὁλκῆς*, "golden ear-rings, each of a drachma weight." In Exodus xxxix, 2 (corresponding with the Massoretic xxxviii, 26), they rendered *δραχμὴ μία τῇ κεφαλῇ τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ σίκλου κατὰ τὸν*

[1] *The Book of Exodus*, by the Rev. S. R. Driver, D.D. (Cambridge, 1911, p. 378).

σίκλον τὸν ἅγιον, "One drachma a poll: the half of the shekel, according to the holy shekel."

If, therefore, the first editors of the LXX did not have Exodus xxxv–xl before them in the Hebrew text from which they made their version, then they must have had independent knowledge of the value of the *beḳa'*, or they could not have translated the word by ἡραχμή, in Genesis xxiv, 22. The LXX rendering of Exodus xxxix, 2, is a mere self-evident proposition, for, as *siklos* and *didrachmon* are convertible terms, and a *didrachmon* is two drachmas, it is perfectly obvious that half a *siklos* is one drachma.

During the last few years, the *beḳa'* unit has assumed greater importance, for three small weights have been discovered, each of them marked with the word בקע in Old Hebrew characters. They were brought to light, as follows:—

In 1901 by Prof. Torrey, at Jerusalem, weight 90·58 grains.
In 1904 by Mr. Macalister, at Gezer, „ 94·27 „
In 1905 by Dr. Dalman, at Jerusalem, „ 102·6 „

On finding the first specimen Prof. Torrey immediately recognized that he had to do with the unit mentioned in Exodus xxxviii, 26, and he estimated the ancient shekel as weighing 181·17 grains.[1] This, however, was certainly too light, because the other specimens are both considerably heavier. The late Dr. S. R. Driver[2] put forward the suggestion that these newly discovered *beḳa'* weights were really intended for the Phoenician half-shekel of 112 grains, but had become badly worn. This, however, is extremely improbable; for it is hardly likely that three separate examples should have been recovered at different times, and all of them should be so very much lighter than they should be. Furthermore, the discoverers did not note any sign of wear in their specimens. Consequently, we are justified in taking these weights as they are, and striking an average between them, when it will be found that the mean of the heaviest and lightest yields a value of 96·59 grains.

In the *Quarterly Statement* for July and October, 1912, the writer enumerated the various small inscribed weights which had been found in Palestine in the course of the last thirty years, and endeavoured to trace their relationship with known metrological standards. Among these weights were the above-mentioned

[1] *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. XXIV (1903), p. 206.
[2] "Exodus," p. 394.

examples marked with the word *beḳa'*; and as the *beḳa'* weights very nearly represent two-thirds of the Egyptian *kedet* of 146 grains, he was inclined to see in them a unit derived from the Egyptian standard. This theory made the *beḳa'* analogous to another series of Palestinian weights bearing the strange word פים,[1] and having a value of two-thirds of the Persic silver stater; but not coinciding with any other known standard. Ancient Palestine being alternately under the influence of the Persians (or Babylonians) and the Egyptians, it might very reasonably be supposed that if we find a unit representing a definite fraction of the Persian standard, we ought to find a corresponding unit representing a like fraction of the regular Egyptian unit. This view, however, did not recommend itself to Prof. A. R. S. Kennedy who considered that the equation with the Egyptian *kedet* was made "in a somewhat violent manner."[2] The mean weight of the *beḳa'* being 96·59 grains, there need be no hesitation in assigning it to the Aeginetan metrological standard. In other words, the *beḳa'* is to be considered as equivalent to the drachma of Aegina, the normal weight of which was 97 grains.[3]

Naturally, it will be far more logical to assign the *beḳa'* to a known metrological standard, with which it can be shown to coincide, than to arbitrarily invent a place for it by assuming it to be an unusual fraction of another standard. The only difficulty is to account for the Greek standard of Aegina having penetrated into Palestine at so early a date as to obtain mention of the *beḳa'* weight in the narrative of Genesis xxiv, 22. This difficulty, however, may be more apparent than real, for the Greeks were known to the Western Asiatics in very ancient times.

Aegina was a small island to the south of Attica, and the Aeginetans were celebrated as energetic traders at an extremely early period. Pausanius (viii, 5, 8) describes how they traded with the Arcadians in the tenth century B.C. by freighting vessels to Cyllene in Elis, and then carrying their wares overland by means

[1] It seems pretty certain that פים must be a complete word, and not a contraction; for, on referring to *Quarterly Statement*, 1912, p. 186, it will be seen by the illustration that one of the weights has an inscription on the back, consisting of *ten* Hebrew letters, reading "of Zechariah (son of) Jair"; while, on the other side, are merely the *three* letters. Thus, there was no necessity for any contraction, but plenty of room to express the value in full if it required any more than the word פים. Signor Rafaelli and the Rev. M. H. Segal find this word in 1 Samuel xiii, 21 (see *Quarterly Statement*, 1914, p. 99; 1915, p. 40).

[2] *The Expository Times*, Vol. XXIV (1913), p. 490. [3] *Loc. cit.*

of pack animals. Herodotus has much to say of these islanders, and especially mentions Sostratus, the son of Laodamus, of Aegina (IV, 152), as being the most famous and most successful of all the Greek merchants. Herodotus also refers to the temple built by the Aeginetans at Naucratis, in the Delta, in the reign of Amasis. Dr. Petrie has discovered many weights on the Aeginetan standard in the various ancient sites he has excavated in Egypt; and it need hardly be said that if the Aeginetans exercised such influence in Egypt, there is every probability that they were equally active and equally successful in Palestine. After the conquests of Alexander, the Aeginetan weight system came into common use in Egypt and Asia; but that was owing to other reasons, which we will describe presently; and the later weights can be assigned to their proper period with very little difficulty.

The weight-standard of Aegina may be stated as follows:—

	1 drachma	=	97 grains.
2 drachmas	= 1 stater	=	194 „
50 staters	= 1 mina	=	9700 „

In early times this system was in use over the greater part of the Peloponessus; and when coinage was introduced into European Greece about 650 B.C. the coins were struck on this standard, as the most generally received. The coins of Aegina bore as their distinguishing type the tortoise, sacred to Aphrodite; and the numismatist, Prof. E. Curtius, made the very probable suggestion that this was due to the mint having been set up in the great temple of Aphrodite, which overlooked the spacious harbour of Aegina; for the temples were the treasuries of antiquity, and we should not forget that our word "money" is derived from the fact that the earliest Roman mint was established in the temple of Juno Moneta. On account of this peculiar device the coins of Aegina were styled "chelonai," χελώναι, and were frequently mentioned by that name in ancient inscriptions, for the currency enjoyed a very wide circulation until 456 B.C., when Athens conquered Aegina and put an end to the Aeginetan coinage.

The Athenians themselves commenced coining about 550 B.C., and, as their commercial interests at that period were chiefly directed to Western Greece and Sicily, they adopted for their coinage the Euboic standard of 135 grains to the stater; although the customary Aeginetan weight continued to be used in the

markets. It thus fell out that, thenceforward, the Athenians possessed two systems: the Euboic, or Attic, applied to the precious metals: and the Aeginetan, used for weighing everything else. When, therefore, the conquests of Alexander carried Greek civilization into Asia, these systems went with it. The coins of the Seleucids were struck on the Attic standard, and the Syrian markets used the Aeginetan. Hence the reason why many weights on the Aeginetan standard, with Greek inscriptions belonging to this period, have been found in Syria.

From what has previously been said, however, it will be seen that long before the time of Alexander the Aeginetan system was well known in the Eastern Mediterranean; and, if we recognize that the *beḳa'* weight, "the half of the shekel," was the drachma of Aegina, it follows that the Shekel of the Sanctuary was equivalent to the Stater of Aegina, *i.e.*, 194 grains Troy. The composition of the Priestly Code is usually assigned to the Persian period. At this era the most common unit was the Persic silver stater of 175 grains, so that the Aeginetan standard would make the Shekel of the Sanctuary of somewhat higher value. It is certainly strange that the authors of the Priestly Code should have ignored the Phoenician shekel, which was obviously the recognized standard on the coast of Canaan, for when the cities began striking coins about 450 B.C., they did so on the Phoenician standard, with the exception of Aradus, which adopted the Persic silver, probably for political reasons.

It is to be observed that the Priestly Code does not treat the Shekel of the Sanctuary as a standard that was universally recognized; but in four several places is careful to define it as consisting of twenty gerahs. Ezekiel (xlv, 12) also insists that "the shekel shall be twenty gerahs." This points to there being some difference of opinion in the sixth century B.C. as to the proper value of the shekel; or, rather, as to the proper shekel which should be employed for sacred purposes. Assuming that the Shekel of the Sanctuary was the stater of Aegina = 194 grains, then the twentieth part, or *gerah*, would weigh 9·7 grains. At this rate:—

The Persic Silver Stater	=	18 gerahs.
The Shekel of the Sanctuary	=	20 „
The Phoenician Shekel	=	23 „

Ezekiel orders that the shekel of 20 gerahs shall be adopted, and in this he is followed by the Priestly Code.

The sacerdotal authorities may have hesitated to countenance the shekel of the "Canaanites" for religious reasons, and they may have preferred the Aeginetan because it was somewhat heavier than the Persic silver stater; but it is to be observed that the Greek conquest of Asia, and the establishment of the Seleucid monarchy placed the Aeginetan standard upon an entirely different footing. Instead of being a respectable ancient system of weight of mysterious origin, it suddenly became vulgar and familiar as the ordinary avoirdupois market weight of the Gentiles; and it is quite out of the question to suppose that when this was recognized the intolerant and exclusive Jewish people would long continue to accept the vulgar standard of Gentile hucksters and fishwives as representing the sacred Shekel of the Sanctuary. They were thus thrown back on the Tyrian shekel, whose autochthonous antiquity was indisputable, and the Phoenician standard again became the shekel of Israel.

If we admit that the division of the shekel into 20 gerahs only applies to the Shekel of the Sanctuary, it is evident, as Prof. Kennedy has already pointed out, that we must change the place of the interesting little weight described in *Quarterly Statement*, 1912, p. 182. This is in Mr. Clark's collection: it is in the form of a tortoise, the badge of Aegina; it bears the Old Hebrew inscription חמיש, and it weighs 38·58 grains. Prof. Kennedy proposes to read חֲמֵשׁ as "a fifth," and to consider it as a fifth part of the Aeginetan stater; or, as we now have it, the fifth part of the Shekel of the Sanctuary.

NOTE ON THE GRAFFITI OF THE CISTERN AT WADY EL-JŌZ.[1]

(*Concluded from Q.S., p.* 90.)

By Dr. Max van Berchem.

So far as their meaning is concerned, these little texts only include pious formulas; but among these formulas there are two whose frequent recurrence deserves our attention.

[1] By an oversight no reference to the continuation of Dr. van Berchem's notes was made in the April issue.

In the first the scribe testifies that Allah is his "friend" (*waliyy*). The word which I thus read is written in a rather curious way: the *w* is followed by a hook at right angles, the vertical branch of which represents an *l*, and the horizontal branch a final *y*, turning back to the right and upon the line. But the reading is assured by the great number of repetitions. The word itself, derived from a root denoting proximity, signifies "neighbour, parent," and, in a religious sense, "friend." In numerous passages the Coran expresses the idea that the true believer is the *waliyy* of Allah, and that Allah is the *waliyy* of the believer.[1] The relation of the *wilāya* is reciprocal: if man is near to Allah, it necessarily follows that Allah is near to man. Here it is Allah who is the *waliyy*; but Arabic epigraphy also furnishes examples of the inverse relationship.[2]

As we can see, this idea of an intimate *rapport* between man and God goes back at least to the beginning of Islam, and when we recollect that we are in Palestine, and that Hebron, a few hours from Jerusalem, is, for the Moslem, the city of *al-Khalīl*, that is to say, the city of Abraham, *Khalīl Allah*, "the friend of God,"[3] it is tempting to discover in the *wilāya* a memory of Biblical times.[4] But for man, Allah cannot be a comrade. He is an august friend who is of the nature of a protector. When the writers of the graffiti in the cistern at Wady el-Jōz testify that Allah is their patron, I believe that they do not merely express an opinion; they implore His protection, or they thank Him for having bestowed it upon them.

Elsewhere I have shown that Arab epigraphy betrays its magical origin by some curious survivals, notably by formulas which still recall, unknown to those who employ them, certain rites of sympathetic magic. If this interpretation may find a place here, these

[1] See the passages in Flügel's *Concordance* on the evolution of this word; see Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, II, pp. 285 *seq*.

[2] Thus, in an inedited epitaph of the fourth century after the Hegira, at Jerusalem, the writer, foreseeing that the tomb may be violated, warns the violater that he will not be Allah's *waliyy*. So also the inscriptions of the Fatimid Caliphs in Egypt and in Syria give these Caliphs the title *'Abd Allāh wa-waliyyuhu*, "the servant of Allah and his *waliyy*." The Caliph 'Alī was considered to be the *waliyy* of Allah, *par excellence*, and the title is intended to proclaim the fact that the Fatimid Caliphs were descended from 'Alī.

[3] After the Coran iv, 124, *cf*. Genesis xii *sqq*.; Ep. Hebrews xi, 8 *sqq*.

[4] *Cf*. Exod. xxxiii, 11; Job. xxix, 4; Ps. xxv, 14; Prov. iii, 32; Jer. iii, 4; and, in the Gospels, the "friends" of Jesus, of the Bridegroom, etc.

graffiti will come into the category of ex-votos, and the cistern will present itself as a kind of secret sanctuary, preserved in the midst of Islam, by the side of the places of the official cult, and frequented by the faithful, who, though Mohammedans, belonged, doubtless, to the lower classes of society.

As a matter of fact, these small texts do not make any allusion to the Coran, or to the religious formulas employed by the educated classes. Moreover, when we recall that in No. XXXVIII the cistern is styled a place of refuge (*ma'ādha*), one will be tempted to see there a trace of those ancient asylums where the criminals and outcasts of society sought safety under the protection of a complaisant divinity. The question whether mosques have served as an asylum, in the judicial sense of this term, can hardly be discussed here. If such has been the case, it will be natural that, when public sentiment repudiated the too archaic conception of a religious sanctuary serving to protect the guilty, the fugitives should have localized this right of asylum in lonely caves, in the same way that the visitors of the *weli*, or sacred tomb, throughout Syria, have preserved, unknown to them, the ancient cult of the High-places.[1]

The other formula is that wherein the witness beseeches Allah to grant him the *shahāda fī sabīlihi*, "in his way," that is to say, for the love of him, or for the advancement of his rule. In the Coran the *shahīd* is the witness who pronounces the confession of faith, and his testimony is called the *shahāda*. Later, under the influence of Christian ideas, *shahīd* comes to denote the martyr who has died for his faith, and *shahāda* then means "martyrdom." On the other hand, in the Coran and in the ancient literature, the phrase "in the way of Allah," is everywhere used of the holy war, *al-jihād fī sabīl Allah*. Thus, the authors of these graffiti pray to Allah to bestow upon them the privilege of dying as martyrs, fighting for their faith; and it may be concluded, therefore, that they lived during the most troubled periods of the Middle Ages—for example, at the time of the first Mohammedan conquest, or at the epoch of the Crusades. This indication, however, is too vague for us to fix the dates of these little texts. Besides, Mohammedan tradition speedily strove to make a reaction against the excesses of martyrdom by enlarging the idea of the *shahāda*. And it succeeded to the extent that the origin of the word was soon forgotten. The

[1] See Goldziher, *op. cit.*, pp. 305 *seq.*; Clermont-Ganneau, *La Palestine Inconnue*, pp. 50 *seq.*

phrase, *fī sabīl Allah*, became applied to other pious achievements than the sacred war—to pious foundations, alms-giving, and to every activity that is good in the eyes of God.[1]

Thus, to resume, the authors of our graffiti are Mohammedans, but poor people whose religious knowledge seems to be limited to fundamental notions on the relations between God and man: the *wilāya* for this life, and the *shahāda* for the other world.[2] Apparently they are fugitives seeking an asylum and the protection of Allah; but perhaps they may be simple wayfarers who have inscribed their names upon the moist plaster of the cistern. At what period did they live? Neither the palaeography of the characters nor the tenor of the texts furnishes any precise information on the subject.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES.

By Joseph Offord.

I. *A New Inscription from Marissa.*

In the April number of the *Quarterly Statement*, a summary was given of a new Painted Tomb in Palestine which had been discovered and described by Mr. Warren J. Moulton. The same traveller has, in the March number of the *American Journal of Archaeology*, given an account of another tomb found by him at the same site, which is that of the ancient Marissa, where were situated the sepulchres so fully reported upon by Dr. John P. Peters and Dr. H. Thiersch in *The Painted Tombs at Marissa*. The only matters of interest in the last one uncovered are the inscriptions, which are as follows:—

1. In the year 117. (The grave) of Sabo daughter of Apollodorus.
2. In the year 115. The grave of Antiphilus the son of Dionysius.

[1] On the evolution and the different meanings of the words *shahid*, *shahāda*, and *fī sabīl Allāh*, see Goldziher, *op. cit.*, pp. 387 *seq.*, and the sources there cited.

[2] Hence one can see more clearly why, in Palestine and in Syria in general, every isolated and deserted building, tomb, ruin, or subterranean remains tends to become a *weli* or a *mashhad*, that is to say, a place inhabited by a *waliyy*, or by a *shahid*.

3. (Grave) of Dositheus.
4. Of Antiochus.
5. (The grave) of Diodotus.
9. In the year 201. (The grave) of Heliodora the daughter of Aeneas.
10. (The grave) of the Sidonian woman.
11. (The grave) of Apollodorus.

These texts are interesting in some cases because of the names they record, and also because of the connection, apparently, of some of the personages with the names of those in the painted tombs described by Drs. Peters and Thiersch.

Supposing, as is almost certain, that the Seleucidan era is the one used, Mr. Moulton points out that the dates correspond to from 198 to 112 B.C., whereas those previously found at Marissa date from 196 to 119 B.C., so that the several series are practically contemporary. The persons, whose epitaphs were found in the first published tomb, were many of them members of a Sidonian colony, and a Sidonian woman is mentioned in the new series. The female name of Sabo is that also of two other ladies in the first tomb. It is an Edomite or Sabean, not a Punic name.

Mr. Moulton notes that an Antiphilas was one of the plotters who with Antipater connived against Herod; that Dositheus was the title of a captain of Judas Maccabeus; and that the real name of the assassin of Jonathan Maccabeus was Diodotus. The inscriptions edited by Mr. Moulton make important additions to the Sidonian, Idumean, and other race-name Onomastica of the Marissa necropolis, and may render a study of their origin and meanings profitable.

II. *A Byzantine Inscription in the Brussels Museum.*

In the catalogue compiled by M. Franz Cumont, of the Greek and Roman Sculptures and Inscriptions in the Brussels Museum in 1913, is published an inscription in Greek, up to that time inedited, which concerns the erection of a wall in Palestine in the Byzantine period, as follows[1]:—

✠ Χρ(όνοις) ΦΛ(αβίου) Ἰωάννου ἐνδοξ(οτάτου) βεστίτο(ρος) δεσποτ-ικ(οῦ), ἀπὸ δουκ(ῶν), καὶ ὑπατικ(οῦ) τὸ β′ καὶ τοῦτο ἔργον τοῦτικους ἐγένετο ἐν ἰνδικ(τιῶνι).

[1] *Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire Catalogue des Sculptures et Inscriptions Antiques.* Brussels, 1913, pp. 170–171.

"In the time of Flavius Johannes, the most illustrious Imperial Chamberlain; aforetime general; and consul for the second year, they remade this work of the (construction of a) wall. The year . . . . of the Indiction."

It here states that Flavius Johannes had been Dux, or General, and was Consul of Palestine Prima. The place where the inscription was alleged to have been found was Nazareth, but this was not in that province, and consequently M. Cumont suggests that the stone really came from some other site; and that this may have been Nablûs, near which, on Mount Gerizim, Justinian erected fortifications, and which was in Palestine Prima.

The record must have been made previous to A.D. 536, because from that date Palestine Prima was administered by proconsuls.

M. Grégoire conjectures that Flavius Johannes of the text is the Johannes who, in 529, suppressed the revolt of the Samaritans. If so, the Dux of Palestine was Theodore. Of these events Cyril of Scythopolis says:—

Ἐκελεύθησαν Θεόδωρος καὶ Ἰωάννης οἱ ἐνδοξότατοι στρατὸν συναγεῖρος καὶ τῶν Σαμαρειτῶν καταστρατεῦσαι.

III. *A New Record of a Procurator of Judea.*

The following inscription, which has recently been discovered at Ventimiglia, in Liguria, adds another document to those I have been able to publish from time to time concerning the Roman campaigns and administration in Palestine in the first centuries of our era. As in the case of the memorable military diploma or grant of privilege, to a veteran who took part in the siege of Jerusalem, which may be found in a previous volume of the *Quarterly Statement*,[1] the career of the official whose libella is given below was also connected with Egypt, but the era of service in the army and administration of the new personage restored to history by this freshly found text is later, being in the early part of the second century:—

M(arci)[2] filius Fal(erna) Bassus praefectus cohortis primae

[1] "Recently found Inscriptions relating to Roman Campaigns in Palestine," Palestine Exploration Fund *Quarterly Statement*, 1911, p. 91. See also, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Vol. XXIV, 1902, pp. 325–28, and Vol. XXV, 1903, pp. 30–32, "Inscriptions relating to the Jewish War of Vespasian and Titus"; and Vol. XX, 1898, pp. 59–69, "Inscriptions relating to Hadrian's Jewish War."

[2] *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1914.

Antiochensium: praefectus cohortis primae Brittonum[1]: praefectus alae Moesicae.

Procurator Imperatoris Caesaris Traiani Hadriani Augusti, ad quadragesimum Galliarum; item ad censum Agendum Ponto Bithyniae. epistratego Pelusio, item Thebaidis.

Procurator provinciae Judaeae: testamento poni iussit.

The gentilicium of Bassus is effaced, and so, for the present, is a matter of conjecture. Now that we know of him as a long-time resident Egyptian official, his full titles will probably be found among the Egyptian papyri, but, some years ago, a seal was found, also at Ventimiglia, inscribed Aemili Bassi.

This cursus honorum proves that, either under the military or civil administration, this Bassus had served during almost the whole of Hadrian's reign, A.D. 117 to 138. But, apparently, not until quite the end of it, because, about A.D. 136, the province of Judea became part of Syria Palestina.

Bassus' term of office as Procurator Provinciae Judaeae is a new historical fact, and, therefore, the reason for presenting this inscription to our readers. In addition to the procurators known through the New Testament, there are others, such as Laberius Maximus, Coponius, Annius Rufus, Valerius Gratus, mentioned by Josephus; and Cl. Paternus Clementianus, recorded in *Corpus Inscr. Lat.*, III, 5776; P. Sempronius Aelius Lycinus, *ibid.*, III, 6054; and C. Furius Timesitheus (see Henzen, 5530), and from Tiberius to the end of Nero's reign there were—Marcellus, Marullus, Cuspius Fadus, Tiberius Alexander, Ventidius Cumanus, Antonius Felix, Porcius Festus, Albinus, and Gessius Florus.

IV. *The Jewish Community at Delos.*

For more than a decade two Greek inscriptions emanating from Delos, have been considered to have been texts concerning Jews there, because of the intimate connexion of wording in some of the phrases used in the Septuagint, and also because of the occurrence of the term *Θεὸν τὸν ὑψίστον*. The arguments for the Hebrew origin of these inscriptions were most carefully elaborated by Deissmann in 1910.[2] His view of the case is now completely corroborated by the

[1] This corps may not have been connected with Britain, but possibly was recruited among the Brittones in the Low Countries.

[2] *Light from the East*, pp. 423–435.

discovery of a fourth Jewish lapidary text at Delos, alluding to the synagogue there.

This, and other inscriptions of Jewish origin at Delos, have been published in the *Mélanges Holleaux*, together with a description of the remains of the synagogue itself; and the inscriptions have been edited again in the *Revue Biblique*, 1914, p. 530.

They are, therefore, merely alluded to here as a record, and because the *Quarterly Statement* in many cases is distributed to parts of the British Empire where probably the *Revue Biblique*, and certainly the *Mélanges Holleaux*, are not likely to be perused.

The text mentioning the Delos synagogue is as follows:—

Ἀγαθακλῆς καὶ Λυσίμαχος ἐπὶ προσενχῇ.

The name of Lysimachos occurs in a second inscription found in the synagogue:—

Λυσίμαχος ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ χαριστήριον.

The other inscriptions are:—

Λαωδίκη Θεῶι Ὑψίστωι σωθεῖσα ταῖς ὑφ' αὐτοῦ θαραπήαις εὐχήν,

Ζωσᾶς Πάριος Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ εὐχήν:

and:—

Ὑψίστῳ εὐχήν Μαρκία.

It will be noted that one of these texts testifies to Jews being at Paros, and Josephus, *Antiquities*, X, 8, mentions a letter concerning Jews there. The book of Maccabees[1] had indicated their presence at Delos and Myndos. The Delos texts above confirm this, and a Greek inscription, found in 1900 at Myndos, substantiates the other.[2]

The essays published upon these Delian inscriptions quote numerous similar texts concerning Θεοι Ὕψιστος, the majority undoubtedly of Hebrew origin. One of these from Thyatira Μοσχιανὸς Βασσιλλὴ(ου) Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ εὐχήν may be given here, because before the German occupation it was in the Brussels Museum, and its subsequent fate is not known. It is graven upon a marble eagle, the symbol of Zeus. But this emblem was also that of the Semitic Baalim; the hill top, or summit, Semitic deities; and the Most High God—Baal, or Yahweh Shamaim—is an Asiatic concept, and not an Hellenic one introduced quite late into the Old Testament.

It occurs as early as the very ancient Aramaic inscription of Zakir of Hadrach, of the time of Hazael of Damascus, published by

[1] 1 Macc. xv, 23.

[2] *Comptes Rendus* of the *Académie des Inscriptions*, 1901, p. 108.

M. Pognon; a text which has not, in this country, received the attention of Biblical scholars it deserves.[1] Esarhaddon, in his Annals, speaks of Ba-al-sa-me, as a deity of Tyre. Baal was Lord of Eternity, as Jehovah was the Eternal and Everlasting.[2] So in a Palmyrene inscription Baal is מרא עלמא, and in the Greek duplicate of the text, which is a bilingual one, he is Zeus Magistos Keraunios.[3]

V. *A Memorial of a Citizen of Askalon found in Thessaly.*

Among the hundreds of Hellenic personal names found upon the painted stela at Pagasai (Demetrias) are some few Syrian, or Semitic ones, being those of foreigners or descendants of Asiatic immigrants, who were prosperous, or enough respected, to have funerary inscriptions. Their strange titles were, as far as possible, given their equivalent in Greek. One of these recently published reads thus:—[4]

'Αβδέλης 'Ασκαλωνίτης; referring doubtless to an Aramean, or Phoenician, from Syria, who died in Thessaly.

This name, borne by a man of Askalon, is of interest to Hebrew scholars because of its connection with such Hebrew Old Testament names as Abdiel, עבדיאל, 'Αβδιήλ, 1 Chron. v, 15. Also Abdeel עַבְדְּאֵל, Jer. xxxvi, 26, and Abdi.[5]

It may be noted, in passing, that M. Clermont-Ganneau has published from a Greek epigraphical dedication to the Heliopolitan Zeus, a very similar transliteration into Greek of a kindred name. It reads: Αβιδβελος, which M. Ganneau connects with the Aramaic Abdbel, and therefore would render "Servant of Bel." It would consequently not be a rendering of the Phoenician Abdibaal. The

[1] *Inscriptions Sémitiques de la Syrie et de la Mésopotamie*, M. H. Pognon (Paris). [See the late Prof. Driver in *The Expositor*, June, 1908.]

[2] See Genesis xxi, 33; and the Greek expression Χρόνος ἀγήρατος, "never ageing time."

[3] In the Armenian version of the Story of Ahikar he is said to have worshipped Belšim which should probably have read Belšamim. In the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* for 1907, Prof. Montgomery published a Cilician inscription of the Persian period mentioning Baalshamem.

[4] See *Revue des Études Grecques*, 1914, p. 453.

[5] Abdiah does not occur in the Old Testament, unless the familiar name Obadiah (עבדיהו, also found upon Hebrew seals) should be so read; it is noteworthy that the Septuagint usually gives the form Abdias, etc., except in the case of the well-known prophet.

Demetrias text may be the sculptor's, or his employer's rendering of Abd-el, or Abd-elim, if the name is polytheistic.

Mr. S. A. Cook, in his *Aramaic Glossary*, gives a name from Euting's collection of Sinaitic inscriptions reading עבדאלבעלי. For light upon the significance of Biblical and other Jewish names, and those of their Semitic neighbours in the era between the Captivity and the period of the Roman Empire, it is always wise to search back in the Babylonian and Assyrian onomasticons. There, for instance, we find such names as Abdili identical with Abdeel.[1]

Further, Sennacherib's records give a title very close to that of the Askalonite, whose name provides the basis for these notes. For that king refers to a ruler of Arvad as Abdili'it(i).[2]

Naturally there are numerous Phoenician or Punic names in Carthaginian and North African inscriptions which are connections of those cited. These may be found in the *Corpus of Semitic Inscriptions*. Also, Tyre, another city upon the Syrian littoral, gives us as name of a Suffete thereof, the title of Abdelini (or Abdelein). A long Carthage text also mentions a person Abdelai.[3]

Comments upon the names of ancient Semites based upon documents sometimes carelessly written may appear meticulous, but important deductions are often derivable therefrom.[4] Thus, there is a very old Babylonian name, Abdu Ištara, giving a primitive title of Ishtar-Astarte, or Ashteroth—without the feminine termination.

In the tablets from Palestine found at Tel el-Amarna, as Dr. Pinches has so well shown,[5] the variant spellings of the name of a single personage—Abdi Aštarte—show that the accursed

[1] Theophilus H. Pinches, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Historical Records of Assyria and Babylonia* (1st ed.), p. 157.

[2] See "Epigraphical Records of Abdalim and Abdelim," *Comptes Rendus, Académie des Inscriptions*, 1901, p. 601; 1904, p. 508.

[3] עבדלאי, *Rep. d'Epig. Sem.*, XVII, 7. (Discussed by Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, I, 24.)

[4] Assyrio-Babylonian records are always of interest in connection with such subjects. In this instance, it is noteworthy that Dr. Johns, in *Deeds and Documents*, p. 425, Obverse 15, gives a name Abdiḫummu, and Dr. Zimmern refers to another cuneiform name in the Persian period, Abdiḫumu. This may be the one referred to in 1867 by Oppert, on a contract tablet of Cambyses' reign. They are cited because parallel to עבד התז.

[5] Dr. Pinches (*ibid.*, p. 314) notes that the scribe once writes Ab-di-aš-ta-ti, probably intending to have written Ab-di-aš-ta-ar-ti, and, in another instance, Ab-di-Aš-ra-tum, perhaps for Aštaratum.

Ashera of the Prophets, were indeed the symbols, or sites, of Ishtar-Astarte worship, for in his dispatches his scribes call him sometimes Abdi-Aštarte, at others Abdi-Aširti.[1]

(*To be continued.*)

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS.

The Materials for the History of Dor, by George Dahl, Ph.D., Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn., 1915.

In recent years, several valuable monographs on Palestinian and Syrian antiquities have been written by American scholars. Apart from the admirable volumes of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria, 1904–1905, and 1909, on which see the January *Q.S.*, pp. 45 *sqq.*, two useful works have been issued by the Columbia University on Sidon and Gaza, the one by Prof. F. C. Eiselen, the other by Dr. Martin A. Meyer. The volume mentioned above forms part of the transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, and is by the Assistant Professor of Old Testament Literature, School of Religion, Yale University. In a compass of about 130 pages it provides a careful and critical examination of the sources for the history of the little-known city of Dor. All the extant material has been carefully examined and sifted, and there is a useful map to accompany the geographical and historical arguments. He deals with the topography, the name, and the history of the site from the most ancient times unto the present day. There are many difficulties in the evidence, and these are very skilfully handled, and the probabilities judiciously weighed. As many know, Dor is often mentioned in ancient records; there are interesting references to it in the quaint old Egyptian story of the visit of Wenamon to Byblos to procure cedar, in Assyrian literature, and in the inscription of the Phoenician king Eshmunazar. During the Greek, Maccabean, and Roman times, the history can be traced fairly well; but, strange to say, it seems to have been nearly or quite deserted from the seventh century A.D. until after the third crusade at least. It is not mentioned at all by the classical Arab geographers during the ninth–twelfth centuries. Dr. Dahl's

[1] For Ashtoreth and Ashera, see J. Offord: "The Deity of the Crescent Venus in Ancient Western Asia," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1915, pp. 197–203. Abdashtar is a man's name in a Cypriote inscription, and Strato, king of Sidon, was Abdastart (*Corpus. Inscript. Graecarum*, I, 126, No. 87).

scholarly monograph is a welcome and valuable contribution to the geography and history of Palestine.

In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, April, 1915, Mr. Offord adduces evidence for his argument that the goddess Ishtar-Astarte was the star Venus, "a crescent-symboled deity, and not the moon." "In the clear air of Messopotamia doubtless it was possible to detect the phases of Venus; and so Ishtar-Venus, the later Ashtoreth-Karnaim, is, like so many other primitive concepts, a reasonable expression of astronomical symbolism, the horned emblem upon the figure of the deity indicating the star associated with her name."

In the *Rev. Hist. Rel.*, LXIX (1914), pp. 1–11, Prof. Cumont publishes a peculiar terra-cotta, said to have come from Damascus: "Two female figures, richly dressed and wearing high, turretted crowns, are seated upon a camel. He thinks they represent the two half-statues of Tyche as they were carried in the processions of some temple in the vicinity of Damascus or Palmyra. Heliodorus speaks of τύχαι, and, in Syriac, the plural Gadê was used for the good fortune of the planets Jupiter and Venus. The two figures are, therefore, to be explained in some such way."[1]

"In *Klio*, XIV, 1914, pp. 345–376, Prof. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt discusses Hebrew weights and measures, and shows that they correspond with those of the Pheidonian system. He also discusses the royal as contrasted with the ordinary mina."

In the Expository Times, XXVI, 1914, pp. 25 *sq.*, Prof. Sayce argues that "instead of one Hittite empire, with its capital at Boghazkeui, north of the Halys, there were two empires, the second of which rose on the ruins of the first. This second was the Cilician empire of Solinus, which was founded by the Moschians—not by the Hittites proper—about 1200 B.C., and had its main centre at Tyana. It is to this second empire that the hieroglyphic inscriptions belong, which testify to its spread from Lydia in the west to Carchemish in the east, and in which Sandes, or Sandakos, appears as the national god in place of Teshule. Most of the monuments, accordingly, which we have regarded as evidence of the existence of the earlier empire really bear witness, not to the Hittites of Boghazkeui, but to the Moschian Hittites of Tyana."

S. A. C.

[1] This and the following paragraphs are taken from the *American Journal of Archaeology*, XIX, p. 186.